The Forum

APRIL, 1896.

DEFICIENCY OF REVENUE THE CAUSE OF OUR FINANCIAL ILLS.

THE President, in his annual message to Congress, confined himself to two important subjects—our foreign relations, and the condition of our national finances. He followed it by another message on the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela.

While Congress has heartily, perhaps too hastily, but with entire unanimity, supported him in maintaining the interests and honor of our country in the field of diplomacy, it has not and will not approve his recommendations on the more important subject of our financial policy, and especially of our currency. He has mistaken the cause of our present financial condition in attributing it to the demand for gold for United States notes, instead of to the deficiency of revenue caused by the legislation of the last Congress. He places the effect before the cause. He proposes as a remedy the conversion of the United States notes and the Treasury notes into interest-bearing bonds, thus increasing the interest-bearing debt nearly $500,000,000. He proposes a line of policy that will produce a sharp contraction of our currency, add greatly to the burden of existing debts, and arrest the progress of almost every American industry which now competes with foreign productions.

The President is supported in these views by Mr. Carlisle. It is with diffidence I undertake to controvert their opinions; but my convictions of their erroneousness are so decided that I hope the strength of the facts I will submit will convince every one that the true line of public policy is to supply the Government with ample means to meet

Copyright, 1895, by the Forum Publishing Company.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

current expenditures and to pay each year a portion of the public debt. The gold reserve provided for the redemption of United States notes can then be easily maintained not only without cost, except the loss of interest on the gold in the Treasury, but with a saving of interest on United States notes and Treasury notes of five times the interest lost by the gold held in reserve. A vastly greater benefit than saving interest is secured to our people by a national paper currency at par with coin, supported by the credit of the United States, and redeemed on demand in coin at the Treasury in the principal city of the United States.

The only difficulty in the way of an easy maintenance of our notes at par with coin is the fact that during this Administration the revenues of the Government have not been sufficient to meet the expenditures authorized by Congress. If Congress had provided necessary revenue, or if the President and Mr. Carlisle had refused to expend appropriations not mandatory in form, but permissive, so as to confine expenditures within receipts, there would have been no difficulty with the reserve. This would have been a stalwart act in harmony with the President's character and plainly within his power. All appropriations which are not provided to carry into effect existing law are permissive, but not mandatory, and his refusal to expend money in excess of the revenues of the Government would not only have been justified by public policy, but would have been heartily approved by the people of the United States. He knew as well as any one that, from the close of the civil war to the date of his inauguration, the expenditures of the Government had been less than its receipts. I have before me a table which shows the receipts and expenditures each year from 1866 to 1893. From this official statement it appears that for each and every year, during this long period, there was a surplus, which was applied to the reduction of the public debt bearing interest. This debt amounted August 31, 1865, to $2,381,530,294. On March 1, 1893, it was $585,034,260, thus showing a reduction of $1,796,496,034 of the interest-bearing debt. The public faith was pledged to this reduction in our loan laws and by the act creating a sinking fund, and, though in some years we did not comply with the terms of the sinking fund, yet in other years we exceeded its requirements, and prior to this Administration the aggregate reduction of debt was greater than the law required. Now, for the first time since 1866, we have deficiencies of revenue. From March 1, 1893, to December 1, 1895, the national debt has been increased $162,602,245.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The President, in his recent annual message, complained that the law of October 6, 1890, known as the McKinley act, was "inefficient for the purposes of revenue." That law, though it largely reduced taxation by placing many articles on the free list and granted a bounty for the production of sugar, yet did not reduce revenues below expenditures, but provided a surplus of $37,239,762.57 on June 30, 1891, of $9,914,453.66 on June 30, 1892, and of $2,341,674.29 on June 30, 1893, when Mr. Cleveland was President and a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress had been elected, all pledged to repeal the McKinley act and to reduce duties. That the McKinley act did not produce more revenue in 1893 and 1894 is not a matter of surprise. Any tariff law denounced by the party in power, with a promise to repeal it and to reduce duties, would prevent importations under the old law and thus lower the revenue.

Early in December, 1893, at the first regular session of Congress during Mr. Cleveland's term, a bill was formulated, and as soon as practicable passed the House of Representatives. That bill met the hearty approval of the President. If it had become a law as originally presented, the deficiency in revenue would have been much greater than now; but conservative Democratic Senators, with the aid of Republican Senators, greatly improved the House bill, added other duties, and changed the scope of the measure. With these amendments it became a law. The President refused to sign it, expressing his opposition to the Senate amendments, and yet now supports it when deficiencies have been greatly increased, when the public debt is increasing, and doubts are expressed as to the ability of the Government to maintain its notes at par with coin. The President makes no mention in his message of these deficiencies; no mention of the issue of interest-bearing bonds to meet them. The Secretary of the Treasury is more frank in his statement. He reports a deficiency of $69,803,260.58 during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1894, and for the year ended June 30, 1895, $42,805,223.18, and for the six months prior to December 1, 1895, $17,613,539.24; in all, $130,222,023.

No complaint was made that the McKinley law was "inefficient for the purposes of revenue" when the Wilson bill was pending. The objection to the McKinley law was that it was a "protective tariff," and the Wilson bill was a "revenue tariff." I have a statement before me showing the receipts and expenditures under each law each month, —the McKinley law from its passage to the election of Mr. Cleveland, and the Wilson law from its passage to December 1, 1895. During

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the twenty-five months of the McKinley law (October, 1890–92) the average monthly surplus was $1,129,821.[1] During the existence of the Wilson law (September, 1894, to December, 1895) the average monthly deficiency was $4,699,603.[2] If the McKinley law was, in the opinion of the President, inefficient for revenue, he should have said of the Wilson law that it was bounteous in deficiencies.

During the first year of the Wilson law the agricultural imports, all of which are such as are produced in the United States, the most common products of our farms, were of the value of $107,342,522. During the last year of the McKinley law the imports of the same farm products were of the value of $51,414,844. So under the Wilson law the imports of agricultural products, which we produce in the greatest abundance, were doubled in amount as compared with the amount imported under the McKinley law.

Notably, during the same time, the importation of two articles (that we can produce in the United States) under the Wilson law were wool, valued at $32,589,791, and hides, $24,623,239. Under the McKinley law wool valued at $6,299,934 and hides valued at $10,480,562 were imported. Importations of wool were increased under the Wilson law sixfold. It is no wonder that our sheep are being destroyed. The importation of hides under the present act increased two and one half fold. The American farmer was thus deprived of his home market.

Other importations made during a year under the Wilson law, of articles which we can readily produce in this country, were valued at $263,684,513, while under the McKinley law the value of the same articles imported was $172,743,601.

The enormous importations under the Wilson law, for which we had to pay gold, necessarily diminished the exports of the United States. Our chief reliance in our foreign trade is to export our products, mainly agricultural, in sufficient quantity or more to pay for our imports, so that the balance of trade shall be in our favor. Under the Wilson law we exported in a year agricultural productions valued at $301,578,885, while during the last year of the McKinley law we exported similar productions valued at $371,125,299. It will thus be

[1] Total receipts under McKinley law October, 1890–92..... $759,456,825
Total expenditures under McKinley law October, 1890–92..... 731,211,184
Surplus..... $28,245,641

[2] Total receipts under Wilson law September, 1894, to December, 1895..... $373,790,648
Total expenditures under Wilson law September, 1894, to December, 1895. 444,290,692
Deficiency..... $70,500,044

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seen that under the McKinley law we exported more and under the other law less, the difference amounting to about $70,000,000. Therefore, the balance of trade necessarily turned against us.

I could pursue the analysis of these two laws further, but I have said enough to explain the preference of the Wilson bill by the President. He believes in large importations at the lowest cost, without regard to the industries and labor of our countrymen, while I believe in a careful discrimination and the imposition of such duties on articles that compete with home productions as will diversify our employments and protect and foster impartially all industries, whether of the farm, the workshop, the mine, the forest, or the sea. I have not been satisfied with any tariff law made during my public life, though I have shared in framing many. I prefer a law that will impartially protect and encourage all home industries, and I regard the McKinley law as infinitely better than the Wilson law, which I believe is the cause of all the evils we now encounter by adverse balance of trade, the exportation of gold, and the derangement of our monetary system. The Wilson law has produced a deficiency every hour and day that it has been on the statute book, while the McKinley law has always produced a surplus until after the incoming of this Administration, and if administered since that time by friendly agents would have furnished the Government all the revenue needed.

The deficiency of revenue was the primary cause of the demand for gold for United States notes. The gold hoarded for resumption purposes was not separated from the money received for current revenue, and, this revenue being insufficient to meet expenses, the gold accumulated for redemption purposes was drawn upon to make good the deficiencies. This created a doubt of the ability of the Government to maintain the parity of United States notes with coin, and led to their presentation for redemption in coin. The draft on the Treasury for coin during this Administration has been greater than the amount of deficiency of revenue during the same period. In every aspect in which the subject presents itself to my mind I come to no other conclusion than that the deficiency of revenue and the consequent encroachment upon the redemption fund are the causes of our present financial condition, and that the only remedies are either a radical reduction of expenditures or an increase of taxation, and perhaps both. I do not believe that the condition requires a suspension of public works or a postponement of measures now in progress to strengthen the army and navy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is strange that the President in dealing with our financial condition should ignore entirely the pregnant and controlling fact that during his term of office, thus far, three issues of bonds have been made, amounting in the aggregate to $162,315,400, to meet current expenses in a time of profound peace. He attributes all our financial difficulties to the continued circulation of United States notes and Treasury notes—debts bearing no interest—amounting to nearly $500,000,000. His statement of the origin and history of the United States notes is strongly tinged with prejudice, for though these notes were irredeemable for a time, they were convertible into bonds bearing interest payable in coin. They replaced notes issued by banks chartered by the several States. They were the best possible substitute for coin, and, in connection with the bonds of the United States, they furnished the means by which alone the army and navy could have been sustained during the war. After the war was over the question of the retirement of United States notes was mooted, but no party or section of our country demanded a cancellation of these notes, though there were differences of opinion as to the amount to be retained in circulation. The Democratic party then demanded the largest amount named, while a new party called the "Greenback party," demanded an unlimited issue without any provision for their redemption in coin. The Republican party provided, by the resumption act of 1875, for the reduction of United States notes to $300,000,000, and their redemption in coin on and after January 1, 1879. This reduction was arrested by Congress when they had been reduced to $346,681,016, when both Houses of Congress had Democratic majorities. Provision was made for the redemption of the United States notes by coin on demand and for their reissue, and authority was given to sell United States bonds for that purpose.

From January 1, 1879, to the election of Mr. Cleveland in November, 1892, there was no disturbance of the orderly receipt and exchange of gold and currency. The gold deposited in the Treasury in exchange for bonds in the summer and fall of 1878 amounted to $95,500,000. The ordinary current revenue in the Treasury conducted the vast operations of the Government without friction or trouble for nearly fourteen years. United States notes were at par with coin not only in every part of the United States, but in every country in the world. During all that long period they were presented for redemption, but in amounts comparatively insignificant. I have before me a table, prepared by the Treasury Department, by which it appears that during

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thirteen years, from July 1, 1879, to July 1, 1892, the redemption of United States notes in gold averaged less than $3,000,000 a year, while during the last three and one half years the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes exceeded $100,000,000 for each year. During the first thirteen years gold was exported in large quantities, yet it was not drawn from the reserve; but during the past three and a half years $360,000,000 was drawn from the reserve and $305,000,000 exported. The balance, with the domestic supply of gold, was hoarded in the United States.

The recent report of Secretary Carlisle shows that prior to 1891 the demand for coin for United States notes during a period of thirteen years, from July 1, 1879, to July 1, 1892, was only $43,310,896, while the receipts of gold for United States notes during the same period amounted to $160,000,000. Gold was deposited and any kind of paper money was demanded. The withdrawals from the Treasury from July 1, 1892, to December 1, 1895, have amounted to $360,266,512. Mr. Carlisle in his report says:

"The withdrawals from the Treasury between July 1, 1879, and July 1, 1892, amounted to $43,310,896, while the gross exports during the same time amounted to $389,354,757, showing that $346,043,861 was supplied from sources outside of the Treasury,"—[he is speaking of gold]—"but the withdrawals from July 1, 1892, to December 1, 1895, have amounted to $360,266,512 and the gross exports have amounted to $305,617,419, from which it appears that the Government has furnished a sum equal to the whole export and $54,649,093 in addition. While the Government has thus been compelled during the last three and a half years not only to furnish gold from the Treasury for export to other countries, but also a large amount for the use of our people at home, its receipts of gold on account of customs and other taxes have been constantly diminishing since July 12, 1890, and have now entirely ceased."

I have a graphic map attached to the Secretary's report of 1894, which shows the amount of gold in the Treasury from 1879 to July 1, 1894. It steadily and almost continuously increased from $140,000,000 on January 1, 1879, to $300,000,000 on January 1, 1891. It then steadily decreased to July 1, 1894, when it was reduced to $125,000,000, and, though replenished by the large sale of bonds, it was reduced December 31, 1895, to the sum of $64,204,651.

During the first term of Mr. Cleveland, when he was powerless to affect our currency and tariff policy,—the Senate being Republican,—the gold increased from $240,000,000 on April 1, 1885, to $320,000,000 on April 1, 1889. This gold came into the Treasury without cost in exchange for United States notes or gold certificates.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is just to Mr. Carlisle to say that he attributes the withdrawal of gold to silver legislation, yet the Bland-Allison act was in force from 1878 to 1890, when the accumulation of gold occurred, and the great bulk of gold was withdrawn after the repeal of the act of July 14, 1890. In 1880, while I was Secretary of the Treasury, the Government received over $60,000,000 of gold in exchange for silver certificates and United States notes; and yet this was done after the Bland-Allison act was in force and the silver certificates had been issued under that act. United States notes and silver certificates were more convenient to purchase cotton and corn, and when maintained at parity with coin will always be preferred in large commercial transactions as well as in the current business of life.

In view of these official facts, can any fair man doubt as to the cause of our financial condition? What other cause can be stated than that unwise legislation reduced our revenues below our expenditures, impaired confidence in our ability to maintain our currency at par, and compelled the Government to sell bonds provided for the redemption of United States notes in order to meet deficiencies? What other remedy is there for our financial difficulties except to borrow money on the best terms possible to pay current deficiencies and to provide additional revenue for future wants? To this extent and for these purposes I am willing to support this Administration, however much I may disagree with its general policy.

But the President is not satisfied. He demands the retirement and cancellation of all the United States notes and Treasury notes by the sale of bonds of the United States bearing interest. In his annual message he says:

"In anticipation of impending trouble, I had, on the 28th day of January, 1895, addressed a communication to the Congress fully setting forth our difficulties and dangerous position, and earnestly recommending that authority be given the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds bearing a low rate of interest, payable by their terms in gold, for the purpose of maintaining a sufficient gold reserve, and"—[here is the important part]—"also for the redemption and cancellation of outstanding United States notes and the Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver under the law of 1890. This recommendation did not, however, meet with legislative approval."

He might have said that it was rejected by both Houses of Congress, each containing a majority of his political friends. With the experience of fourteen years, the people of the United States, as well as their representatives, were almost unanimously in favor of a currency so easily maintained at par in coin by the promise of the United States

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to pay it in coin, and by holding in the Treasury $100,000,000 gold coin for its redemption when presented. No one contemplated that this reserve would be used to pay current expenditures. In all our legislation since the war ample means were provided to meet current expenditures without trenching upon this reserve, and it was not encroached upon until Mr. Cleveland became President. Instead of demanding more revenue, he urged the reduction of duties and secured the passage of a law which reduced the revenue and forced the Treasury to encroach upon the redemption fund to meet current obligations. If this policy has been adopted to compel the people of the United States to surrender the best paper currency they have ever enjoyed, it will fail. If revenue is wanted to meet current expenditures, it will be furnished, either by taxation or by borrowing, or by both.

Mr. Cleveland in his message complains that, when notes are presented for redemption and are redeemed, the law requires that they "shall belong to the United States, shall not be retired, cancelled, or destroyed, but shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation." The right to reissue is a necessary incident to a circulating note. The United States does what every bank does. By this provision it furnishes a note for circulation better than any other yet devised by mortal man.

He also says:

> "The Government was put in the anomalous situation of owing to the holders of its notes debts, payable in gold on demand, which could neither be retired by receiving such notes in discharge of obligations due the Government, nor cancelled by actual payment in gold. It was forced to redeem without redemption and to pay without acquittance."

It seems to me that when the Government redeems its note the former holder of the note has no right to say whether it shall be reissued or not. The last sentence is without meaning. If the United States redeems its note the holder has nothing more to say, and when the United States pays out a note it always takes a receipt, which is an acquittance.

The President says that "in April, 1893, for the first time since its establishment, this reserve amounted to less than $100,000,000, containing at that date only $97,011,330." This significant statement, made as to the earliest days of his Administration, should have incited in the mind of the President an inquiry into the cause of the reduction of the reserve. The real reserve for redemption purposes was the proceeds of $95,500,000 bonds and no more. In addition to this re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

serve it is necessary to have on hand, to meet current expenditures, the sum of from twenty to forty million dollars. At certain periods a large balance is accumulated to pay the interest of the public debt and other large disbursements for the army and navy. Any excess should be at once applied to the reduction of the principal of the public debt. This line of public policy was continued from January 1, 1879, to March 4, 1893, including the first Administration of Mr. Cleveland. During this period many times more gold was deposited in the Treasury than was paid out. Large amounts of gold were deposited in the Treasury for gold certificates. The public debt was largely diminished. Not a shadow of doubt had been cast upon the ability of the Government to redeem its notes or to maintain its reserve. The minimum never fell below $100,000,000. The reserve would not have fallen below the minimum of $100,000,000 during and after 1893 but for the known policy of the President to reduce duties on imported goods, followed soon by the enactment of the tariff law now in force, resulting in a large reduction of revenue and in deficiencies that could be paid only out of the resumption fund.

It is but fair to state that the resumption act of 1875 did not segregate the resumption fund from the general balance, nor did it provide that notes redeemed should be held in place of the coin paid out. The then Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report to Congress on December 6, 1880, pointed out these defects in the resumption law. He said:

"The Secretary expresses the utmost confidence that without new legislation the entire amount of United States notes now authorized and outstanding can be easily maintained at par in coin, even if the present favorable financial condition should change; but in order to accomplish this the coin reserve must be kept unimpaired, except by such payments as may be made from it in redemption of notes. Notes redeemed should be temporarily held, in place of the coin paid out, especially if it appears that the call for coin is greater in amount than the coin coming in due course into the Treasury or the mints. . . . It is suggested that Congress might define and set apart the coin reserve as a special fund for resumption purposes. The general available balance is now treated as such a fund; but as this balance may, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, be unduly drawn upon for the purchase or payment of bonds, it would appear advisable that Congress prescribe the maximum and minimum of the fund."

This advice, given in 1880, was not needed, at least until the present Administration came into power, and now it is very sorely needed by them. Congress neglected to enact into law the measures proposed, but neither the Congress nor the Secretary of the Treasury

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anticipated that the time would come when this fund would be applied to pay current deficiencies in the revenue amounting in two and a half years to $162,000,000. Both the President and the Secretary say that no provision has been made by law for such deficiencies and that their only resort was the general fund in the Treasury, composed of the resumption fund and the general balance in the Treasury. But it is due to truth to say that in February, 1893, a short time before the close of the Fifty-second Congress, when Mr. Carlisle was a member of the Committee on Finance of the Senate and it was known that he was to be Secretary of the Treasury, and when the probabilities of a deficiency became apparent, that committee, upon my motion, with the approbation of Mr. Carlisle, reported an amendment to an appropriation bill as follows:

"To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to provide for and to maintain the redemption of United States notes according to the provisions of the act approved January 14, 1875, entitled 'An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments, $50,000'; and, at the discretion of the Secretary, he is authorized to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par in coin, either of the description of bonds authorized in said act, or bonds of the United States bearing interest not to exceed 3 per cent, payable semiannually and redeemable at the pleasure of the United States after five years from their date with like qualities, privileges, and exemptions provided in said act for the bonds therein authorized, to the extent necessary to carry said resumption act into full effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for the purposes provided in said act and none other."

The amendment was adopted by the Senate. It went to the House of Representatives and was there referred, without a vote, to a committee of conference, which rejected it, and, as it was understood at the time, with the approval of Mr. Carlisle, who said it was unnecessary. No deficiency at that time existed, but it was manifest that the policy of the incoming Administration would create a deficiency. If that amendment had become a law the Secretary could easily have maintained the reserve and met deficiencies as they occurred by the proceeds of the bonds described in it.

Nor would deficiencies have occurred had not the President and both Houses of the Fifty-third Congress, then in political sympathy, united in passing a law reducing the revenue below expenditures for the first time since the close of the war, and compelled the Executive authorities to apply a fund created for the redemption of United States notes to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government. This demonstrated fact is the source of all our present financial difficulties.

I do not wish to criticise the sales of bonds authorized by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resumption act to meet these deficiencies. Under the circumstances the Administration was justified in doing this, even to the impairment of the resumption fund, but it ought frankly to say that the cause of the invasion of the resumption fund was the deficiency of revenue created by faulty tariff legislation by the last Congress.

Such a deficiency is discreditable to the United States, with its vast wealth and resources. There is no difficulty in collecting by taxation all and more money than is necessary for its expenditures. The true remedy is to supply additional revenue by taxation in some form, and, until this can be effected, to borrow from the people of the United States enough money to cover past and future deficiencies. This done, gold will readily be exchanged for United States notes, as was done from January, 1879, to the election of Mr. Cleveland.

The two defects in existing law relating to redemption are mentioned by the President.

First. That the notes presented for redemption must be reissued. It seems that he has found the power to hold notes redeemed until they can be exchanged for coin, a discovery that he should have made sooner.

Second. That the resumption fund is a part of the general balance in the Treasury and may be applied to current expenditures.

Congress neglected to cure the defects pointed out by me as Secretary of the Treasury in December, 1880, but I hope will correct them now at the request of the President. It was not then anticipated that a deficiency of revenue would occur, or that, if it did occur, the Government would use a fund specially pledged for another purpose to meet current liabilities. Notes once redeemed should only be reissued for gold coin, and such reissues should be mandatory when coin is deposited in the Treasury. With this provision of law the scarcity of currency would create such a demand for it that coin would be freely deposited in exchange for the more portable and current notes of the United States.

The resumption fund should be segregated from all other moneys of the United States and paid out only in redemption of United States notes. With such provisions in the law the resumption fund could not be invaded to meet deficiencies in the revenue. These should be provided for by bonds or certificates of indebtedness of small denominations at a low rate of interest, which would be readily taken by the people through national banks, sub-treasuries, and post-offices.

There seems to be a misapprehension of the difficulties of main-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taining the redemption of United States notes. The nominal volume of these is $346,681,016. This is the reduced volume from the maximum outstanding during the civil war of $450,000,000. But this sum of $346,000,000 includes all the notes lost and destroyed by casualty since the first issue in 1862. The amount thus lost has been estimated at from twenty to forty million dollars, reducing the notes outstanding to $320,000,000, or less. The national banks in certain large cities are required to keep on hand in lawful money of the United States an amount equal to at least 25 per cent of the aggregate amount of their notes in circulation and of their deposits, and all other banking associations are required at all times to have on hand in lawful money of the United States an amount equal to at least 15 per cent of the aggregate amount of their notes in circulation and of their deposits. Under this law the national banks now hold for the redemption of their notes and the security of their deposits the sum of over $93,000,000 in lawful money, almost exclusively in United States notes, and this money cannot be withdrawn by any bank without reducing their notes in circulation and their deposits from four to six times the amount of their withdrawal. The actual amount of United States notes now in circulation among the people cannot exceed $227,000,000, and this is scattered among 65,000,000 people who cherish this money with confidence and faith as the best money they have ever had. With a provision in the law that notes redeemed with coin shall not be reissued except for coin, the value and stability of our currency can never be endangered.

As the term "lawful money" includes gold coin, there is a disposition by timid banks to convert their United States notes into coin, thus aiding in depleting the redemption reserve. This has been done to the extent of forty or fifty million dollars, and should be prevented by a provision of law that the bank reserve of lawful money shall be United States notes or Treasury notes only. The banks can redeem their notes with Treasury notes and United States notes, because the law expressly makes those notes a legal tender for that purpose. National banks are the creation and instruments of the Government and ought not to be allowed to discredit the money with which they can redeem their own notes, nor should the Government itself be permitted in any way to weaken the credit and confidence of the people in their paper money by using it for current expenses in excess of current revenues. It is nothing less than fraud for the Government to use these notes for such purposes, and it has never been done except during this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Administration. Every dollar thus taken is an impairment of the redemption fund. It is the misapplication of a fund specially created by law for another purpose. The effect is to destroy confidence in the credit and safety of our paper currency. It has led to the demand for gold coin for United States notes. I do not believe that was the design of the Executive branch of the Government, but that has been its effect, and it should be prevented by the immediate action of Congress. The resumption fund is the safeguard of the money of the people, and its use for any other purpose is a practical repudiation of the public faith.

The President complains that the notes are presented and paid, reissued, and paid again and again, making a continuous circuit. When did this circuit commence? The only answer is, When this Administration, supported by the last Congress, created a deficiency. Why does the circuit continue? It is because the deficiency continues. The Administration resorts to the financial policy of *Micawber*. It gives its bonds and thinks the debt paid. But the circuit continues. The money received for current revenue is paid to cover deficiencies and is returned for gold, and then more bonds. The Secretary hopes that in two or three years there will be no deficiency. What is the ground for this hope? It is that a new Administration will provide more revenue, and then the circuit will be broken. Why not apply the remedy now? If deficiencies occur Congress should immediately supply the means to meet them, and Congress, and not the Administration, must be the judge of the mode and manner of relief. The invasion and misapplication of the resumption fund are of infinitely greater injury to our people than the imposition of ten times the amount of taxation.

It is asserted that the continued reissue of United States notes is mandatory. This is not a fair construction of the law. The plain meaning of it is that their redemption shall not cause their cancellation. They are placed on the footing of bank notes. What solvent bank would reissue its notes when there was a run upon it? It would hold them until the demand ceased. The Government ought to exercise the same prudence. The President is of the opinion that the United States notes and Treasury notes should be retired and give place to bank notes. This is a question for Congress to decide. It is certainly not of that opinion now, nor was the last Congress of that opinion. Outside a few large cities, where banking facilities are abundant and business is conducted by checks and commercial paper,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is no desire for the retirement of national paper money. It is not right for the Executive authorities to discredit this money by using it for current deficiencies. It was the use and dispersion of the redemption fund that created the circle of which he complains.

I believe that under existing law the aggregate sum of United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the act of 1890, amounting to about $460,000,000, can be easily maintained at par with coin if the two amendments I have mentioned are adopted by Congress. These notes are a legal tender for all debts, public or private. They are a debt of the United States without interest and without other material cost to the Government than the interest on the cost of the coin or bullion held in the Treasury to redeem them. They are preferred by the people to any other form of paper money that has been devised. They have all the sanctions of law and all the security that has been or can be given to our bonds. They have the pledge of the public faith that they will be redeemed in coin. The substitution of these notes for State-bank paper money was one of the greatest benefits that has resulted from the civil war. These notes have all the sanction, protection, and security that has been or can be given to our national-bank notes, with the added benefit that the large saving derived from them inures to the people of the United States instead of to the bankers.

Another reason, founded upon belief, is that the national banking system could not long endure if the United States notes were withdrawn. I will not now discuss this, nor any other of the numerous financial questions involved,—such as the policy of requiring the duties on imports to be paid in gold. Imports are purchased with gold, are paid for in gold, and we may require gold for duties. The disposition of silver certificates is a much more serious problem. They are in express terms redeemable in silver dollars. Ought they not to be redeemed by silver dollars? While the silver dollars are maintained at par with gold it would seem that there was no injustice in paying the silver dollars for silver certificates. Then comes up the question of free coinage of silver, which I regard as the most dangerous policy.

All these are vital questions I do not wish to mingle with the pressing recommendation of the President in his last annual message "that authority be given the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds of the United States bearing a low rate of interest payable by their terms in gold for the purpose of maintaining a sufficient gold reserve and also for the redemption and cancellation of outstanding United

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

States notes and the Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver under the law of 1890." He recommends the exchange of gold interest-bearing bonds for the legal-tender notes of the United States, and the substitution of national-bank notes as our only currency. He is supported in this by large and influential classes of our fellow-citizens, most of them engaged in banking or classed as capitalists. Their arguments mainly rest upon the difficulties encountered by this Administration in maintaining a reserve in coin to redeem United States notes. They forget that during a period of fourteen years when the revenues of the Government exceeded expenditures, and when the public debt was being reduced with unexampled rapidity, there was no difficulty in maintaining our notes at par with coin. There is scarcely a doubt but that, in all conditions of trade or finance except the contingency of war, the whole mass of United States notes and Treasury notes now in circulation can be maintained at par with coin, if it is supported by a reserve of gold coin or bullion or silver bullion at market value in due proportions equal to one third or one fourth of the amount of such notes.

A careful study of the systems of banking, currency, and coinage adopted by the principal nations of Europe convinces me that our system,—when cured of a few defects developed by time,—founded upon the bimetallic coinage of gold and silver maintained at par with each other; with free national banks established in every city and town of importance in the United States, issuing their notes secured beyond doubt by United States bonds or some equivalent security, and redeemable on demand in United States notes; and the issue of an amount of United States notes and Treasury notes equal to the amount now outstanding (with provision for a ratable increase with the increase of population), always redeemable in coin and supported by an ample reserve of coin in the Treasury, not to be invaded by deficiencies of revenue, and separated by the sub-treasury system from all connection with the receipts and expenditures of the Government—such a system would make our money current in commercial circles in every land and clime, better than the best that now exists in Europe, better than that of Great Britain, which now holds the purse strings of the world.

JOHN SHERMAN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TWO SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTIONS.

THE phrase of the younger Pliny, "*Semper aliquid novi Africa affert*," which has been so frequently quoted of late years, strikes the student of politics as specially applicable when he finds that the two Dutch republics of South Africa are living under constitutions diverse from any of the three types to which all or nearly all the constitutions of modern states can be referred. The system established by these two instruments resembles neither the English, or so-called "cabinet," system of government,—which has been more or less imitated by the other free countries of Europe, and has been reproduced in the self-governing British colonies,—nor the American, or so-called "presidential," system, as it exists in the United States and the several States of the American Union. And although it bears some resemblance to the constitution of the Swiss Confederation and to those of the cantons of Switzerland, this resemblance is not a close one, and is evidently not due to conscious imitation, but to a certain similarity of phenomena suggesting similar devices. The constitutions of these two Dutch republics are the product—the pure and original product—of African conditions, having drawn comparatively little from the experience of older countries, or from the models their schemes of government afford. Moreover, these South African constitutions grew up upon a perfectly virgin soil. There was no pre-existing political organization, such as the old feudal politics supplied in some countries of Europe, out of which these republics could develop themselves. There were no charters of guilds or companies, such as those which gave their earliest form to the governments of many of the older American States. Nor was there any home pattern to be copied, as the British colonies have, by the aid of statutes of the imperial parliament, copied the constitution of the United Kingdom. The simple farmers, who drafted the documents which I propose to describe, knew very little about the systems either of Europe or of America. Few possessed any historical, still fewer any legal, knowledge. Many were uneducated men, though with plenty of rough sense and mother wit. They would have liked to get on without any government, and were resolved to have as little as possible. Cir-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cumstances, however, compelled them to have some sort of organization; and in setting to work to form it, with little except their recollections of the local arrangements of Cape Colony to guide or to assist them, they came as near as any set of men ever have come to the situation which philosophers have so often imagined, but which has so rarely in fact occurred—that of free and independent persons uniting in an absolutely new social compact for mutual help and defence, and thereby creating a government whose authority has had, and can have had, no origin save in the consent of the governed.

A few preliminary words are needed to explain the circumstances under which the constitutions of the Orange Free State and of the South African Republic (commonly called the Transvaal) were drawn up.

As early as 1820 a certain number of farmers, mostly of Dutch origin, living in the northeastern part of Cape Colony, were in the habit of driving their flocks into the wilderness north of the Orange River, where they found good fresh pasture during and after the summer rains. About 1828 a few of these farmers established themselves permanently there, still of course remaining subjects of the British crown. In 1835, however, a much greater number of farmers migrated from the colony; some in larger, some in smaller bodies. They felt aggrieved at the behavior of the British Government in abolishing slavery, while allotting to them what is now admitted to have been an inadequate compensation for their slaves; and they were also displeased at its action in handing back to the Kafir tribes a portion of the territory conquered in a Kafir war from which the frontier colonists had suffered severely. During this and the two succeeding years a considerable number of these emigrants moved into the country beyond the Orange River, some remaining there, others pushing still further to the northeast into the hitherto unknown country beyond the Vaal River, while a third body, perhaps the largest, moved down into what is now the British colony of Natal. This is not the place in which to relate the striking story of their battles with the Zulu kings and of their struggle with the British Government for the possession of Natal. It is enough to say that they ultimately quitted Natal to join the emigrants north of the mountains; and that, after many conflicts between those emigrants and the native tribes, and some serious difficulties with successive governors of Cape Colony, the British Government finally, by a convention signed at Sand River in 1852, recognized the autonomy of the settlers beyond the Vaal River, while, by a later convention signed at Bloemfontein in 1854, it renounced the sover-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eignty it had claimed over the country between the Orange River and the Vaal River, leaving the inhabitants of both these territories to settle their own form of government for themselves.

These two conventions are the legal and formal starting-points of the two republics in South Africa, and from them the history of those republics, as self-governing states, recognized in the community of nations by international law, takes its beginning. The emigrant farmers had, however, already been driven by the force of circumstances to establish some sort of government among themselves. As early as 1836 an assembly of one of the largest emigrant groups, then in the Orange River Territory, elected seven persons to constitute a body with legislative and judicial power. In 1838 the Natal emigrants established a Volksraad (council of the people) which consisted of twenty-four members, elected annually, who met every three months and had the general direction of the affairs of the community, acting during the intervals between the meetings by a small committee called the Commissie Raad. All important measures were, however, submitted to a general meeting called the Publick, in which all burghers were entitled to speak and vote. A somewhat similar system prevailed among the farmers settled in the country beyond the Vaal River. They too had a Volksraad, or sometimes—for they were from time to time divided into separate and practically independent republican communities—several Volksraads; and each district or republic had a commandant-general. Their organization was really more military than civil, and the commandant-general with his Krygsraad (council of war), consisting of the commandants and field cornets within the district, were the nearest approach to a regular executive. I have unfortunately been unable to obtain proper materials for the internal political history, if such a term can be used, of these communities before they proceeded to enact the constitutions to be presently described, and fear that such materials as do exist are very scanty. But, speaking broadly, it may be said that, in all the communities of the emigrant farmers, supreme power was deemed to be vested in an assembly of the whole male citizens, usually acting through a council of delegates, and that the permanent officials were generally a magistrate, called a landrost, in each village, a field cornet in each ward, and a commandant in each district. All these officials were chosen by the people.[1] In these primi-

[1] I am indebted for most of these facts regarding the early organization of the emigrants to Mr. G. M. Theal's "History of the Boers in South Africa," a book which, however, carries its narrative down only to 1854. It is a work of con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive arrangements consisted the materials out of which a constitutional government had to be built up.

From this point the history of the Orange River Territory,—which by the convention of 1854 was recognized as the Orange Free State,—and that of the Transvaal Territory, begin to diverge. In describing the constitutions of the republics, I take first that of the Orange Free State, because it dates from 1854, while the existing constitution of the Transvaal is four years younger, having been adopted in 1858. The former is also by far the simpler and shorter document.

When the British Government in 1854 voluntarily divested itself of its rights over the Orange River Territory, greatly against the will of many of its subjects there, the inhabitants of that territory were estimated at 15,000 Europeans, most of them of Dutch, the rest of British origin. The number of native Kafirs was much larger, but cannot now be estimated. The great majority were farmers, pasturing their sheep and cattle on large farms, but five small villages already existed, one of which, Bloemfontein, has grown to be a town of 5,800 people, and is now the capital. The Volksraad, or assembly of delegates of the people, framed, and on April 10, 1854, enacted, the constitution for the new republic. This constitution was revised and amended in 1866, and again in 1879, but the main features of the original instrument remain. I proceed to deal with it as it now stands.

The constitution, which is in the Dutch language, is a terse and straightforward document of sixty-two articles, most of which are only a few lines in length. It begins by defining the qualifications for citizenship and the exercise of the suffrage (articles 1–4), and incidentally imposes the obligation of military service on all citizens between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Only whites can be citizens. Newcomers may obtain citizenship if they have resided one year in the state and have real property to the value of at least £150 sterling, or if they have resided three successive years and have made a written promise of allegiance.

Articles 5–27 deal with the composition and functions of the Volksraad, or ruling assembly, which is declared to possess the supreme legislative authority. It consists of representatives (at present fifty-eight in number), one from each of the wards and from the chief town or village of each of the (at present nineteen) districts. They are

siderable merit and interest, though in places deformed (as it seems to me) by prejudice against the missionaries, with a corresponding disposition to extenuate the faults of the Boers in their dealings with the native races.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elected for four years, one half retiring every two years. Twelve constitute a quorum. Every citizen is eligible who has not been convicted of crime by a jury or been declared a bankrupt or insolvent, who has attained the age of twenty-five years, and who possesses fixed (*i. e.* real) unmortgaged property of the value of £500 at least.

The Volksraad is to meet annually in May, and may be summoned to an extra session by its chairman, as also by the president (§ 34), or by the president and the executive council (§ 45).

The Volksraad has power to depose the president if insolvent or convicted of crime, and may also itself try him on a charge of treason, bribery, or other grave crime; but the whole Volksraad must be present or have been duly summoned, and a majority of three to one is required for conviction. The sentence shall in these cases extend only to deposition from office and disqualification for public service in future, the president so deposed being liable to further criminal proceedings before the regular courts.

The votes of members of the Volksraad shall be recorded on a demand by one fifth of those present. The sittings are to be public, save where a special cause for a secret sitting exists.

The Volksraad shall make no law restricting the right of public meeting and petition.

It shall concern itself with the promotion of religion and education.

It shall promote and support the Dutch Reformed Church.

It may alter the constitution, but only by a majority of three fourths of the votes in two consecutive annual sessions.

It has power to regulate the administration and finances, levy taxes, borrow money, and provide for the public defence.

Articles 28 to 41 deal with the choice and functions of the president of the state.

He is to be elected by the whole body of citizens, the Volksraad, however, recommending one or more persons to the citizens.[1]

He is chosen for five years and is reeligible.

He is the head of the executive, charged with the supervision and regulation of the administrative departments and public service generally, and is responsible to the Volksraad, his acts being subject to an appeal to that body. He is to report annually to the Volksraad, to assist its deliberations by his advice, but without the right of voting, and, if necessary, to propose bills. He may fill vacancies in the public

[1] **In practice, the recommendation of the majority of the Volksraad is looked upon as likely to ensure the election of the person so recommended.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

offices that occur when the Volksraad is not sitting, but his appointments require its confirmation. He may also suspend public functionaries, but dismissal appears to require the consent of the Volksraad.

He may declare war and make peace and treaties, but in all cases only with the consent of the Volksraad.

Articles 42 to 46 deal with the executive council. The executive council consists of five members, besides the state president, who is *ex-officio* chairman, with a casting vote. Of these five, one is the landrost (magistrate) of Bloemfontein, another the state secretary, both these officials being appointed by the president and confirmed by the Volksraad; the remaining three are elected by the Volksraad. This council advises the president, reports its proceedings annually to the Volksraad, and has the rights, in conjunction with the president, of pardoning offenders and of declaring martial law.

Regarding the judicial power only two provisions require mention. Article 48 declares this power to be exclusively exercisable by the courts of law established by law. Article 49 secures trial by jury in all criminal causes in the superior courts.

Local government and military organization, subjects intimately connected in Dutch South Africa, occupy articles 50 to 56 inclusive.

A field cornet is elected by the citizens of each ward, a field commandant by those of each district, in both cases from among themselves. In case of war, all the commandants and cornets taken together elect a commandant-general, who thereupon receives his instructions from the president. Those who elected him may, with the consent of the president, dismiss him and choose another. Every field cornet and commandant must have landed property, the latter to the value of £200 at least.

Article 57 declares Roman Dutch law to be the common law of the state.[1]

Articles 58 and 59 declare that the law shall be administered without respect of persons and that every resident shall be held bound to obey it, while articles 60, 61, and 62 guarantee the rights of property, of personal liberty, and of press freedom.

It will be convenient to defer general criticisms upon the frame of government established by this constitution till we have examined that

[1] Roman Dutch law is the common law all over South Africa, even in the almost purely English colony of Natal (though of course not in Portuguese or German territory). It has of course been largely affected, especially in the two British colonies, by recent legislation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the sister republic of the Transvaal, which agrees with it in most respects. But we may here briefly note, before passing further, a few remarkable features of the present instrument.

1. It is a Rigid constitution, *i. e.*, one which cannot, as the British constitution, be changed in the same way and by the same authority as that whereby the ordinary law is changed, but which must be changed in some specially prescribed form—in this case, by a three fourths majority of the Volksraad in two successive sessions.

2. The body of the people do not come in as a voting power, save for the election of the president and commandant-general. All other powers, even that of amending the constitution, belong to the Volksraad.

3. There is only one legislative chamber.

4. The president has no veto on the acts of the legislature.

5. The president has the right of addressing the legislature.

6. The president's council is not of his own choosing, but is given him by the legislature.

7. The heads of the executive departments sit neither in the council nor in the legislature.

8. The legislature may apparently reverse any and every act of the president, save those (pardon of offences and declaration of martial law) specially given to him and the executive council.

American readers will have noted for themselves some points in this constitution drawn from that of the United States. Others are said to have been suggested by the constitution framed for the French Republic in 1848. Comparatively few controversies upon the construction of the constitution seem to have been debated with any warmth. One, which gave rise to a difference of opinion between the Volksraad and the supreme court of the state, arose upon the question whether the Volksraad has power to punish a citizen for contempt by committing him to prison for a long term. Public opinion eventually disapproved of the action of the Volksraad, which gave way.

The constitution of the South African Republic, or Transvaal State as it is popularly called, is a much longer, much less clear, and much less systematically arranged document. A considerable part of its contents is indeed unfit, as too minute, for a fundamental instrument of government; and, whatever the intention of its framers may have been, it has not in fact been treated as a fundamental instrument. Whether it is really such, in strict contemplation of law, is a question often discussed in professional circles in Pretoria and Johannesburg. I shall summarize the more important of its provisions—they occupy two

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hundred and thirty-two articles—and endeavor therewith to present an outline of the frame of government which they establish.

The Grondwet (ground law) or constitution was drafted by a committee of an assembly of delegates and approved by the assembly itself in February, 1858. It is in Dutch, but an English translation—now difficult to obtain—was made and published in 1879.

Article 6 declares the territory of the republic open to every stranger who submits himself to the laws—a provision noteworthy in view of recent events—and declares all persons within the territory equally entitled to the protection of person and property.

Article 8 states, *inter alia*, that the people "permit the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, subject to prescribed provisions against the practice of fraud and deception"; a provision upon whose intention light is thrown by the hostility of the Boers to the missionaries.

Article 9 declares that "the people will not tolerate equality between colored and white inhabitants either in church or in state.[1]"

Article 10 forbids slavery or dealing in slaves.

Article 19 grants the liberty of the press.

Articles 20 to 23 declare that the people will maintain the principles of the doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church, as fixed by the Synod of Dort in 1618 and 1619, that the Dutch Reformed Church shall be the church of the state, that no persons shall be elected to the Volksraad who are not members of that church, that no ecclesiastical authority shall be acknowledged save that of the consistories of that church, and that no Roman Catholic churches, nor any Protestant churches save those which teach the doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism, shall be permitted within the republic.[2]

After these general provisions we come to the frame of government. Legislation is committed to a Volksraad, "the highest authority of the state." It is to consist of at least twelve members (the number is at present twenty-four) who must be over thirty years of age and possess landed property. Each district returns an equal number of members. Residence within the district is not required of a candidate. The members are elected for two years, and one half retire annually. Every citizen who has reached the age of twenty-one enjoys the suf-

[1] The Boers are a genuinely religious people in their way, and read their Bibles. But they have shown little regard to 1 Corinthians xii, 13; Galatians iii, 28; and Colossians iii, 11.

[2] These provisions seem to have been repealed or allowed to fall into desuetude, except that members of the Volksraad are still required to belong to a Protestant church.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

frage[1] (persons of color are of course incapable of voting or of being elected). "Any matters discussed shall be decided by three fourths of the votes." (*Sic.*) [This provision has been repealed.]

Three months are to be given to the people for intimating to the Volksraad their opinion on any proposed law, "except laws which admit of no delay" (§ 12), but laws may be discussed (apparently, however, not enacted) whether published three months before their introduction or introduced during the session of the Volksraad (§ 47). The sittings are to open and close with prayer, and are to be public, unless the chairman, or the president of the executive council, deems secrecy necessary.

If the high court of justice declares the president or any member of the executive council, or the commandant-general, unfit to fill his office, the Volksraad shall remove from office the person so declared unfit and shall provide for filling the vacant office.

The administration, as well as the proposal, of laws is entrusted to an executive council (§ 13). Its president is elected for five years by the citizens voting all over the country. He must have attained the age of thirty and be a member of the Dutch Reformed Church (§ 61). He is the highest officer of the state, and all public servants, except those who administer justice, are subordinate to him and under his supervision (§§ 62 and 81). In case of his death, dismissal, or inability to act, his functions devolve on the oldest member of the executive council till a new appointment is made. The Volksraad shall dismiss him on conviction of any serious offence. He is to propose laws to the Volksraad—"whether emanating from himself or sent in to him by the people"—and support them in that body either personally or through a member of the executive council. He has, however, no right to vote there. He recommends to the Volksraad persons for appointment to public posts; and may suspend public servants, saving his responsibility to the Volksraad. He submits an estimate of revenue and expenditure, reports on his own action during the past year and on the condition of the republic, visits annually all towns and villages where any public office exists to give due opportunity to the inhabitants of stating their wishes.

The executive council consists of four members besides the presi-

[1] The suffrage has by subsequent enactments been greatly restricted as respects immigrants and the sons of immigrants; and at present a person coming into the country cannot obtain full electoral rights till after a period of twelve years.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dent, namely, the government secretary, the commandant-general, and two other members. All except the commandant-general are elected by the Volksraad; the secretary for four years, the two members for three years. The commandant-general is elected by the voters of the whole republic for an unlimited time. All, including the president, are entitled to sit, but not to vote, in the Volksraad, and all must belong to the Dutch Reformed Church. The president and council carry on correspondence with foreign powers, and may commute or remit a penal sentence. A sentence of death requires the unanimous confirmation of the council. The president may, with the unanimous consent of the council, declare war and publish a war ordinance summoning all persons to serve (§§ 26, 70, 86).

The provisions relating to the military organization (§§ 96–126) are interesting, chiefly as indicating the highly militant character of the republic, which makes express provision not only for foreign war and for the maintenance of order at home, but also for the cases of native insurrection and of disaffection or civil war among the whites. The officers are all elected, the commandant-general by the whole body of voters, the commandants by the voters in each district, the field cornets and assistant field cornets in the wards. All are chosen for unlimited terms.

The judiciary (§§ 127–170) consists of landrosts (magistrates), heemraden (local councillors or assessors), and jurors. The provisions regarding the exercise of judicial power are minute and curious in their way, but have no great interest for constitutional purposes. The landrosts are proposed to the people by the executive council, two months being allowed the people for sending in objections to the names suggested. Very minute provisions regarding the oaths to be taken by these officials, their salaries and their duties, including the penalties they may inflict, fill the remaining articles. But the only guarantee for the independence of the courts is to be found in the general statement in article 15 that "the judicial power is vested in landrosts, heemraden, and jurors," and in the declaration (§ 62) that the judicial officers are to be "free and independent" of the president. A supreme court has subsequently, by enactments of 1877, 1881, and 1883, been established, consisting of a chief justice and four puisne judges.

The rest of the Grondwet consists of details relating to civil administration (which is primarily entrusted to the judicial officers, supported by the commandants and field cornets), and the revenue of the state, which was intended to be drawn chiefly from fees and licenses, the people having little disposition to be directly taxed. The farm

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tax is not to exceed forty dollars, and the poll-tax, payable by persons without or with only one farm, is fixed at five dollars annually. Five dollars is the payment allowed to each member of the Volksraad for each day's attendance. The salary of the president of the council, which the Grondwet fixes at 5,333 dollars, 2 schellings, and 4 stuivers, to be increased as the revenue increases, now amounts to £7,000 sterling per annum, besides allowances.

The most considerable change made in this constitution, besides the creation of a supreme court already mentioned, has been the establishment, in 1890, of a chamber called the Second Volksraad, which is elected on a more liberal basis than the First Volksraad,—persons who have resided in the country for two years, have taken an oath of allegiance and have complied with divers other requirements, being admissible as voters. This assembly, however, enjoys little real power, for its competency is confined to a few specified matters, and its acts may be overruled by the First Raad, whereas the Second Raad has no power whatever of passing upon the resolutions or laws enacted by the First Raad. The Second Volksraad is, therefore, not a second chamber in the ordinary sense of the term, such as the Senate in American States or the House of Lords in England, but an appendage to the legislature proper. It was never intended to have substantial power, and was, in fact, nothing more than an unreal concession to the demands of the Uitlanders, or recent immigrants excluded from citizenship. To use a colloquial expression, it was a "tub thrown to the Uitlander whale."

A few general observations may be made on this constitution before we proceed to examine its legal character and effect.

It is a crude, untechnical document, showing little trace either of legal skill on the part of those who drafted it, or of a knowledge of other constitutions. The language is often vague, and many of the provisions are far too detailed to be fit for a fundamental law.

Although enacted by and for a pure democracy, it is based on inequality—inequality of whites and blacks, inequality of religious creeds. Not only is the Dutch Reformed Church declared to be established and endowed by the state, but Roman Catholic churches are forbidden to exist, and no Roman Catholic nor Jew nor Protestant of any other than the Dutch Reformed Church is eligible to the presidency, or to membership of the legislature or executive council. Some of these restrictions have now been removed. But the door is barred as firmly as ever against persons of color. No one whose

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

father or mother belonged to any native race, up to and including the fourth generation, can obtain any civic rights or hold land.

It contains little in the nature of a Bill of Rights, partly perhaps from an oversight on the part of its draftsmen, but partly also owing to the assumption—which the history of the republic, until within the last few years, amply verified,—that the government would be a weak one, unable to encroach upon the rights of private citizens.

The first legal question which arises upon an examination of this constitution relates to its stability and permanence. Is it a Rigid or a Flexible constitution? That is to say, can it, like the constitution of the Orange Free State, be altered only in some specially prescribed fashion? Or may it be altered by the ordinary legislature in the ordinary way, like any other part of the law?

In favor of the former alternative, that the constitution is a Rigid one, appeal has been made not only to the name Grondwet (ground law), but, which is of more consequence, to much of its language. The general declarations of the power of the people, the form in which they entrust power to the legislature, to the executive council, and to the judiciary respectively (as well as to the military authority), look as if they meant to constitute a triad of authorities, similar to that created by the constitutions of American States, no one of which may trespass on the province of the others. Some things seem intended to be secured against any alteration by the legislature, *e. g.*, article 9 declares that "the people will not allow of any equality between colored and white inhabitants"; article 11 declares that "the people reserve to themselves the exclusive right of protecting and defending the independence and inviolability of church and state, according to the laws." Moreover, the Grondwet, although enacted by a body called a Volksraad, and never submitted to a popular vote, was enacted by a Volksraad specially elected *ad hoc*, not by the ordinary legislature of the republic; hence, it is urged, it ought, if altered, to be altered by a similar body.

On the other hand it is argued that the constitution must be deemed to be a Flexible one, because it contains no provision whereby it may be altered, otherwise than by the regular legislature of the country acting according to its usual legislative method. It can hardly be supposed that no change was intended ever to be made in the Grondwet. That supposition would be absurd in view of the very minute provisions on some trivial subjects which it contains. No distinction is drawn, by the terms of the instrument, between these minutiæ and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the provisions of a more general and apparently permanent nature. *Ergo*, all must be alterable, and alterable by the only legislative authority, that is to say, the Volksraad. This view, moreover, is the view which the legislature has in fact taken, and in which the people seem to have acquiesced. Some changes have been made—such as the admission to the electoral franchise of persons not belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, the creation of a new supreme court, and the establishment of a Second Volksraad,—which are not consistent with the Grondwet, but whose validity has not been seriously contested.

The difficulty which arises from the fact that, whereas the framers of the Grondwet appear to have desired to make parts of their work fundamental and unchangeable, they have nevertheless drawn no distinction between those parts and the rest, and have provided no specific security against the reckless change of the weightiest parts, may be explained by noting that they were not skilled jurists or politicians, alive to the delicacy of the task they had undertaken. They probably expected that the Volksraad would continue to be of the same mind as they were then, and would respect what they considered fundamental; they relied on the general opinion of the nation. They had, moreover, provided a method whereby the nation should always have an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon legislation, namely, the provision (§ 12) that the people should have a period of three months within which to "intimate to the Volksraad their views on any proposed law," it being assumed that the Volksraad would obey any such intimation, although no means is provided for securing that it will do so.

This provision has given rise to a curious question. It excepts "those laws which admit of no delay." Now the Volksraad has in fact neglected the general provision, and, instead of allowing the three months' period, has frequently hastily passed enactments upon which the people have had no opportunity of expressing their opinion. Such enactments, which have in some instances purported to alter parts of the Grondwet itself, are called "resolutions," as opposed to laws; and when objection has been taken to this mode of legislation, these resolutions seem to have been usually justified on the ground of urgency, although in fact many of them, though important, were by no means urgent. They have been treated as equally binding with laws passed in accordance with the provisions of the Grondwet (for article 12 has never been formally altered); and it is only recently that their validity has been seriously questioned in the courts. Those who support their validity argue that in passing such resolutions as laws, the Volksraad

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must be taken to have implicitly, but decisively, repealed the provision of article 12; or that, if this be not so, still the Volksraad is under article 12 the sole judge of what is urgent, and can by its vote legally make things urgent which are, in fact, not so; or that, if both these arguments be unsound, then the unbroken usage of the Volksraad during a number of years, tacitly approved by the people, may, according to the doctrine of Roman Dutch law, be taken to have practically rendered obsolete the directions of article 12, as it is written. *Inveterata consuetudo pro lege custoditur . . . nam quid interest suffragio populus voluntatem suam declaret an rebus ipsis et factis?* (Digest I. 2, 32). To this, however, it is answered that the principle of obsolescence by contrary practice cannot, even in Roman law, fitly be applied where the statute is recent and express. Nor do I doubt that most American lawyers would conceive the arguments above stated to be insufficient, and would hold that these resolutions are not to be treated as equivalent to laws passed conformably to article 12.

On a review of the whole matter, which is of no small practical consequence, the true view would appear to be the following, though I state it with the diffidence becoming a stranger who is also imperfectly informed as to the constitutional history of the republic.

The Grondwet of the South African Republic, though probably intended by its framers to be treated, at least as regards its most important provisions, as a fundamental law not to be altered by the Volksraad in the exercise of its ordinary powers, is not really a Rigid constitution but a Flexible one. We have to look not so much at what the framers may have wished as at what their language actually conveys and imports; and the absence of any provision, such as that contained in the constitution of the Orange Free State, for a special and peculiar method of change, seems to be decisive. But article 12 is still in force, and the validity of all laws,—not dealing with matters which "admit of no delay,"—which have been passed as mere resolutions, ignoring article 12, is very doubtful. The question of what matters are or are not urgent can scarcely have been meant to be left to the absolute and unfettered discretion of the Volksraad, for this would destroy the value of the provision; and, if not left to that discretion, this question would seem to be a matter for the determination of the courts of law, when any question raising it comes before them. This is at any rate the kind of light in which an American or English lawyer, accustomed to construe strictly documents which contain or modify powers, would be disposed to regard the point. I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

understand that in the Transvaal itself the validity of these enactments is deemed so far doubtful that a plan has been considered by the government for direct legislation, formally correct, to cure their defects.

This somewhat technical discussion will, I hope, be pardoned in the United States, where the fact that questions on the interpretation of constitutions have been debated very frequently and with inexhaustible skill and ingenuity emboldens a writer to treat of topics which the unprofessional reader cannot, in other countries, be supposed to care for. Such a reader may, however, even in the United States, be more willing to give his attention to a few observations upon the frame of government and the political system which these two constitutions have established in the two republics of South Africa.

That system is obviously a highly democratic one. It was intended so to be. Among the whites settled in these wide territories there prevailed a perfect social equality, a love of independence, and a strong sense of personal dignity. They were as little influenced by political theories as it was possible for any civilized men in this century to be. Their wish for a government purely popular, and indeed very little of any government at all, was due to their personal experience and the conditions under which they found themselves in the wilderness; and one may doubt whether they would have established any sort of government but for the dangers which threatened them from the warlike native tribes which surrounded them. Such sentiments as I have described would have disposed them, had they lived in a city, or in a small area like the cantons of Uri or Appenzell in Switzerland, to have kept legislation and the determination of all grave affairs in the hands of a general meeting of the citizens. But they lived scattered over a vast area, with no means of communication save ox-wagons which travel only some twelve miles a day. In the Orange River Territory when it became a state there were probably less than three thousand citizens, though its area was nearly that of England. Hence primary assemblies were impossible, and power had to be entrusted to a representative body.

The predominance of the legislature is the most conspicuous feature of both these constitutions. The Volksraad makes all the appointments to the civil service, for the president has only the right of proposing. It appoints a majority of the executive council which surrounds the president, to advise, but also to watch and check him. It has complete control of revenue and expenditure. It may change the constitution; though, in the Orange Free State, only by a pre-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scribed majority. The president has no veto on its acts; and it is not, as in most modern free countries, divided into two chambers likely to differ from and embarrass one another. Its vote,—its one vote,—given under no restrictions but those of its own making, is decisive.

The comparative feebleness of the other branches of government corresponds to the overwhelming strength of the legislature. The judiciary receives very faint recognition, and its independence was in fact, in the South African Republic, seriously threatened by the executive and legislature, and saved only by the exertions of the bench and bar, which aroused public opinion on its behalf. Its claim to be the proper and authoritative interpreter of the constitution, though clear upon principle, does not seem to have been formally admitted in either republic. And though the judges are in both republics appointed for life, their salaries are at the mercy of the legislature.

The executive head of the government has no doubt the advantage, as in an American State, of being directly chosen by the people, and not, as in France, by the legislature. But he has no veto on acts of the legislature, while his acts can be overruled by it, at least in the Orange Free State.

Its approval is required to any appointments he may suggest. He is fettered by an executive council which he has not himself selected, resembling in this respect an American State governor rather than the president of the Union. He has no military authority, such as that enjoyed by the British crown and its ministers, or by the American president, for that belongs to the commandant-general (though in the Orange Free State the commandant "receives instructions" from the president). Against all these sources of weakness there are only two things to set. The president can speak in the Volksraad, and he is reeligible any number of times. To these it may be added that in the Transvaal, though not in the Free State, the Volksraad cannot try him for any offence, though it may depose him if convicted by the regular courts.

The executive council, as already observed, seems intended to restrain the president, while purporting to aid and advise him. It may be compared to the privy council of mediæval England, with the important difference that it is appointed, not by the executive, but partly by the legislature, partly by the people. As we shall see presently, it has proved to be an unimportant part of the machinery of government.

In all these points the two constitutions present a close likeness. They are also similar in their recognition of a state church—an institu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion opposed to democratic ideas in America, and scarcely less so in Western Europe, and in their total exclusion of persons of color from any and every kind of political right. It would appear that upon this point there has never been any substantial difference of opinion in the two republics, although in Cape Colony persons of color are permitted to vote, and in some constituencies are pretty numerous. A republican form of government, therefore, does not necessarily appear to make for "human rights" in the American sense of that term.

Speaking generally, these two constitutions carry the principle of the omnipotence of the representative chamber to a maximum. This will be more clearly seen if we compare the system they create, first with the cabinet system of Britain and her self-governing colonies, and secondly with the presidential system of the United States.

The main difference between the South African scheme of government and the British may now be briefly stated.

The head of the executive is, in the South African republics, chosen directly by the people, whereas in Britain and her colonies the ministry is virtually chosen by the legislature, though nominally by the crown or its local representative.

In South Africa the ministry cannot, as under the British system, be dismissed by a vote of the legislature, nor on the other hand has the ministry the power of dissolving the legislature.

In South Africa the nominal is also the real and acting executive head, whereas in the British system a responsible ministry is interposed between the nominal head and the legislature.

In all the above-mentioned points the South African system bears a close resemblance to the American.

In South Africa the president's council need not consist of persons in agreement with his views of policy; it may even be hostile to him, as part of Warren Hastings's council at Calcutta was in permanent opposition to that governor. Nor does the executive council consist, like the British cabinet and United States federal cabinet, of the heads of the great administrative departments.

On the other hand the South African system agrees with the British in permitting the head of the working executive to speak in the legislature, a permission which has proved to be of the highest importance, and which neither the federal president[1] nor the governor in an American State enjoys.

[1] Although there is nothing in the federal constitution to prevent a president from addressing either House of Congress.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The chief differences between the South African and the American system are the following:

The president has, in the South African republics, far less independence than a federal president or the governor of a State. He has no veto on acts of the legislature, and much less power through the patronage at his disposal; for though he can recommend persons for appointment to public office, and, at least in the Transvaal, signs the documents appointing them, the appointment itself would seem to be regarded as the act of the Volksraad. Moreover the one-chambered legislature is much stronger as against him than are the two-chambered legislatures of America, which may, and frequently do, differ in opinion, so that the executive can play off one against the other. Further, as already observed, an American federal president has a cabinet of advisers whom he has himself selected, and an American State governor has usually officials around him who, being elected by a party vote at the same election, are probably his political allies; whereas a South African president may have an executive council of opponents forced on him by the Volksraad. And even in negotiations with foreign states, he cannot act apart from this executive council.

If we were to rely upon the legal aspect and effect of the provisions of these South African constitutions as enabling us to predict their practical working, we should expect to find them producing a despotism, perhaps a tyranny, of the representative assembly; for few checks upon its power are to be found within the four corners of either instrument. We should be prepared to find party government develop itself in a pronounced form. Power would be concentrated in the party majority and its leaders. The executive would become the humble instrument of their will. The courts of law, especially in the Transvaal with its apparently Flexible constitution, would be unable to stem the tide of legislative violence. The president might perhaps attempt to resist by producing a deadlock over appointments; and he would have a certain moral advantage in being the direct choice of the people. But the one-chambered legislature would in all probability prevail against him.

Is this what has in fact happened? Far from it. Party government, in the English and American sense, has not made its appearance. The legislature has not become the predominant power, subjecting all others to itself. But in order to describe what has happened, I must, in a very few paragraphs, deal separately with the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, for though their constitutions are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

similar and the origin of their respective populations nearly identical,[1] their history has been very different.

The Orange Free State has had, during recent years, a comparatively tranquil and uneventful career. One native war inflicted some injury upon it, but the result of that war was to give it a strip of valuable territory. It has maintained friendly relations with the two British colonies, has extended the franchise to immigrants on easy terms, and has at all times been recognized as absolutely independent by the British Government. Internally its development, if not rapid, has been steady and healthful. There is no poverty among the people, and hardly any wealth. No exciting questions have arisen to divide the citizens, and no political parties have grown up. The legislature, although too large, is a sensible, business-like body, which wastes no more time than is compatible with its being a legislature. From 1863 to 1888 it was guided by the counsels of President Brand, whom the people elected for five successive terms, and whose power of sitting in it and addressing it proved of the utmost value, for his judgment and patriotism inspired perfect confidence. His successor, who has just been obliged by ill-health to retire from office, enjoyed equal respect and almost equal influence, when he chose to exert it, with the Volksraad, and things went smoothly under him, as they promise to do under the president who has been chosen as I write these lines, for the latter also is believed to possess the qualities which endeared his predecessors to the community. The executive council has not proved to be a very valuable part of the scheme of government; and some judicious observers think the constitution ought to be amended by strengthening the position of the courts and introducing some popular vote on constitutional amendments, such as exists in American States and in Switzerland. But, on the whole, the system of government works well; the legislature is pure, and the people seem content with their institutions.

Very different have been the annals of the South African Republic. Soon after the Grondwet was adopted in 1858, a civil war broke out; and from that time onward factions and troubles of all kinds have seldom been wanting. In 1877 the country, then gravely threatened by native enemies, was annexed to the British dominions: in 1881 its autonomy was restored, subject to British suzerainty.[2] Its government, however, continued to be pressed by financial and other

[1] The British element is larger in the Orange Free State than in the Transvaal.

[2] A further convention was made in 1884, whose effect has been recently matter of controversy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

difficulties, till the discovery of rich gold-fields in 1884–6, while suddenly increasing the revenue, drew in a stream of immigrants which has steadily continued to flow, and therewith raised that new crop of political troubles of which the world has lately heard so much. The result has been that the constitution has never had any period of comparative peace in which its working could be fairly tested. If it has not worked as smoothly as that of the Free State, this may be due not merely to its inherent defects but to the strain which civil and foreign wars have placed upon it. The legislature, however, has not played the leading part. President Burgers, who held office from 1872 till 1877, was, like President M. W. Pretorius before him, practically more powerful than the Volksraad; and since 1881 President Krüger, who has been twice reelected, has been the ruling force in the politics of the country. By his influence over the people, by his constant presence and incessant speeches in the Volksraad, he has thrown its leaders entirely into the shade, and probably now exerts more actual power than the chief magistrate of any other republic, though there is scarcely any other chief magistrate whose legal authority is confined within such narrow limits. So much do economic and social facts,—and so much do the qualities of individual men,—affect and modify and prevail over the formal rules and constitutional machinery of government. The legislature, therefore, has not had in the Transvaal that career of encroachment upon and triumph over the other authorities in the state which might have been predicted for it. Its turn will come if and when external relations are tranquil, and a man deficient in force or tact or ambition fills the presidential chair.

How far either of these constitutions deserves praise or blame, or has added anything of permanent value to the constitutional treasures of mankind, is a matter not yet ripe for determination. The experience of each has been too short to warrant positive conclusions. One has had a generally bright, the other a more checkered, course; but in both cases the surrounding circumstances may have had more to do with the result than the arrangements of the constitution itself. One may doubt whether either is as well suited for a community in which grave questions rouse warm feelings as the more flexible system of the British colonies. But we may learn much more from the experience of the next few years in both republics; and there is a constant interest in watching the different ways in which different peoples are trying to grapple with the perpetual, and certainly not diminishing, difficulties of popular government.

JAMES BRYCE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CATHODE RAY,—ITS CHARACTER AND EFFECTS.

It is seldom, in the history of science, that a discovery equally excites the interest of scientific investigators, and of those occupied with other pursuits. But when such an event reveals a new and unsuspected play of forces, and brings to light a multitude of novel phenomena which stand in an intimate relation to the conditions of every-day experience, it appeals in no ordinary way to the attention of every one. It is not surprising, therefore, that the announcement of the remarkable results recently obtained by Prof. Röntgen, of Würtzburg, should at once have aroused the greatest interest everywhere.

The history of the steps which have led to this discovery is a long one, but the principal events follow along the line of researches into the character of the electrical discharge, from Faraday to the present time. The passage of a spark between the poles of an electrical machine, or from the knob of a Leyden jar, is a very familiar occurrence in elementary science. Yet it is a phenomenon of which the full significance is even now but imperfectly comprehended. What is the direction of the motion, what the action that takes place, and where the seat of the forces therein displayed? These are some of the questions to which science can hardly yet give an unequivocal answer, though we appear to be approaching at least their partial solution.

If we surround the wires between which the electrical discharge occurs with a glass tube so firmly closed that no air can enter, and connect the tube with an efficient air-pump, it will be found that very great changes in the character of the spark will appear as the air is gradually withdrawn from the space enclosed by the tube. The narrow, tortuous, thread-like spark loses its definite outline, becomes enlarged, hazy in structure, and takes on a rosy purple tint. As the exhaustion proceeds it progressively expands, becomes more and more nebulous in its appearance, and its length may be very greatly augmented by increasing the interval between the wires. When the pressure of the gas within the tube has been reduced to something like the hundredth part of that of the atmosphere, the luminous haze fills the entire tube, and glows brightly with tints varying with the kind of gas

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enclosed, and often very beautiful. Already, long before this point has been reached, the discharge at the negative pole, or cathode, has begun to show its individuality, first, by the creeping of the luminous stream backward, so as to form a kind of sheath or envelope of the wire, of a characteristic bluish color, then, as the exhaustion proceeds, by becoming independent of the position of the positive wire, or anode, and extending outward from the wire in every direction. These are the first steps in the development of the cathode ray.

Such tubes as have been described, provided with wires of platinum sealed into the glass, for the conveyance of the electrical discharge within, are commonly known as vacuum-tubes. They were formerly sometimes called Plücker's tubes, from the name of the distinguished German physicist who first made use of certain forms of them in researches upon the electrical discharge in rarefied gases, and sometimes Geissler's tubes, from the name of the very skilful German glass-blower who, working at first under Plücker's direction, afterward gave them a great variety of forms, to exhibit in a striking manner the beautiful effects of which they are capable.

Plücker's researches anticipated much of the more recent work, which, in many points, has merely emphasized and developed his results. Later he was associated in this work with Hittorf, who possessed great experimental skill, in which Plücker was somewhat deficient. Hittorf first called attention to some of the peculiarities of the discharge from the cathode in an exhausted tube. He discovered that it takes place perpendicularly to the surface of the cathode, that it travels in straight lines, is independent of the position of the anode, and is capable of deflection by a magnet. The metal of the cathode is also dissipated by the discharge, and, where the degree of exhaustion is sufficient, is deposited upon the walls of the tube. This effect showed itself very early in the history of the vacuum-tube by the discoloration which it produced upon the glass. More recently a study of the conditions under which it takes place has been made, and the varying effects, when different metals are used as the cathode, examined in detail. It has been found that, when the operation is properly conducted, the metal is carried to the glass in such a way as to form a coherent film, very transparent when sufficiently thin, and having a brilliant lustre, so that the process is available for the production of small mirrors of admirable reflecting power.

The invention of the mercury air-pump made it possible to carry the exhaustion of a tube to almost any desired extent. It had already

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been used with great success by Geissler, but a new step was taken by Crookes, which proved to be of great importance, and led to the discovery of many curious effects. Mr. Crookes experimented with tubes in which the exhaustion was pushed to an extreme degree, so far, indeed, that the slight remnant of gas left behind possessed a tension of only a few millionths of an atmosphere. At this pressure the former luminous appearance of the tube no longer manifests itself, and there is little or no visible trace of the discharge stream from the cathode or elsewhere. The glass, however, now glows with a green fluorescence where the stream comes in contact with it, and suitably selected objects in its path, within the tube, glow with vivid colors, forming a most brilliant spectacle.

These experiments attracted immediate attention, especially in Germany, where great progress has been made in the study of the cathode discharge. Passing over many valuable contributions of others, we come to the work of Philipp Lenard, the pupil and successor of Hertz, at the University of Bonn, who published two papers in "Wiedemann's Annalen," in January, 1894, and October, 1895, which may be justly considered as the real origin of the recent revelations concerning the production of photographic pictures by the cathode rays. Lenard employed the ingenious device of making a window in the vacuum-tube, closed with a thin sheet of aluminium. This metal is very pervious to the rays, and this property enabled him, for the first time, to obtain them in the air outside the tube, where they could be conveniently subjected to experiment. He found that they readily penetrated a great variety of substances, even those opaque to light, and that, in a general way, they traversed substances without regard to the kind of matter in their path, but approximately in the order of the density. From this he drew the conclusion that they are phenomena of the ether. He obtained photographic pictures by their action, and this in an opaque metallic box, one side of which was closed with sheet aluminium. Many other questions were studied by him, and the newspapers abound with accounts of significant experiments and valuable results. His work was widely recognized, and it has been the starting-point of many researches on the part of others.

Prof. Röntgen appears to have been one of those who followed in the line of experiment indicated by Lenard, for he describes methods such as would naturally be used by any one studying the character of the new rays. His account, published in the "Journal of the Physical and Medical Society" of Würtzburg, in the latter part of 1895,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is admirably concise and lucid, and is full of noteworthy particulars. He has been the first to show the astonishing power of the rays to produce effects upon the photographic plate, after having traversed considerable masses of material opaque to light, thus revealing their hidden structure, where any want of homogeneity produced a difference of effect. In this way it has been found easily possible to obtain pictures of various portions of the human body, in which the bones are clearly and strongly depicted in their proper form amid the fainter image of the fleshy parts. These, with many similar results, were so startling in their character, that they immediately aroused, throughout the civilized world, an intensity of interest such as has rarely been equalled in the whole history of science.

He further expressed the opinion that the rays which produce these results are not the same as the cathode rays within the tube, but something essentially different, suggesting, but with cautious reserve, that they may be longitudinal waves in the ether. It may be briefly explained, without going into the details of a very technical subject, that ordinary light is regarded as due to vibrations which are at right angles to the direction in which the ray travels, but that, in the mathematical theories of light, other vibrations, in the direction of the ray, are indicated, though wholly unknown in experience hitherto. If the new rays prove in fact to be of this character, so as to realize indeed the long-sought longitudinal vibration, the discovery is of the first importance in science, and will hardly find its equal in interest since the discovery of the law of gravitation; for it reveals a new mode of action of force, governing a wide range of phenomena and effects which, until now, have lain entirely outside the bounds of our cognizance.

The name of Prof. Röntgen was one already well known in connection with many scientific researches, fruitful of valuable results. His work has a certain individuality and boldness of conception, ingenuity of method, and fertility of experimental resources. The personality of the man shows itself in the aspect of novelty which he has given to the facts already practically acquired by the researches of others, and the quick perception and realization of the possibilities which lay in them. His views as to the nature of the rays may not be sustained, as there is much to indicate that they may differ from the cathode rays in degree only, and not in kind, or that they are merely the cathode rays rendered less complex, or more homogeneous, by traversing the walls of the vacuum tube. This is a question to be settled by future research,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and it may prove one not to be solved without much persevering labor. However this may be, there can be but one opinion as to the value of the practical applications of the new discovery, especially in surgery and pathology, and of the benefits which they may bring to suffering humanity.

For the production of the cathode pictures a high-vacuum tube is used, excited by an energetic induction-coil, and so placed that the negative electrode is directed toward a photographic plate situated a few inches from the tube. This is the position usually given the tube, though recent experiments appear to indicate that the rays may possibly emanate from parts of the glass struck by the cathode stream, and that the orientation of the tube admits of some variation. The sensitive plate may be enclosed in the case ordinarily used for containing it, and covered by the slide of ebonite employed to protect the sensitive surface from the light; for this material, while practically opaque to luminous rays, is traversed with great facility by the cathode rays. The objects to be subjected to the influence of the rays are placed upon the slide, and leave their impress upon the plate by partially intercepting the rays, thus forming a shadow-like picture. But it is more than a shadow; for every difference in the power of the various parts of the object to transmit the rays is productive of a corresponding depth of tint in the picture, which thus, to some extent, discloses the interior and invisible structure of the body tested. Wood, paper, and other organic substances are very transparent to the new rays, and metal or mineral substances, enclosed in cases of these materials, are strongly shown in the pictures in consequence of their greater opacity. This property of the rays cannot fail to find many useful practical applications.

In their action upon the tissues of animal bodies the rays show great variety of effect. The flesh and soft parts of the body are much more freely traversed than the bones, so that, if the exposure is continued for a sufficiently long time, the bones are very prominently shown in all details of form, while the fleshy parts leave only a comparatively faint impression. The importance of this result in medical and surgical practice can hardly be overestimated. Malformations, dislocations, and imperfectly adjusted fractures of the bones can be studied in the cathode picture almost as readily as in the skeleton. The softer tissues of the body are so nearly alike in transparency, for the rays, that they are much less clearly differentiated. Yet even here something is shown. The cartilages and tendons are distinguished

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the muscular parts by their greater opacity, and even the nerves and blood-vessels are to some extent revealed. How far abnormal growths or pathologic modifications of these tissues can be detected remains to be discovered; but the presence in them of foreign substances, such as various forms of calculus, bullets, pieces of glass, needles, and the like, can readily be determined. In this direction many successful applications are already reported.

Thus far investigation has been limited, as a general rule, by the inability to obtain photographs by the rays through masses of the body thicker than the hand, foot, or fore-arm, without an inconveniently long exposure, though some good results are reported as obtained in comparatively short periods. It is too early to determine the most efficient means of applying the discovery, but many investigators are at work, and it is to be expected that substantial progress will very speedily result from their efforts.

Scientifically considered, the rays, whether or not their true nature be erelong definitely ascertained, will unquestionably prove to be a very valuable and powerful instrument of electrical research.

One of the most interesting features of the new discovery is the illustration it affords of the great power of modern scientific methods in tracing the effects of subtle influences which for a long time had completely eluded observation. The mere production of these curious pictures is a matter of extreme simplicity,—now that we know the secret,—and it seems a marvel, almost commensurate with the discovery itself, that it was not found out by accident long ago. Yet it is the logical outcome of a long course of patient and persistent labors by many skilful investigators. Waves of inductive action have undoubtedly attended electrical discharges wherever they occurred, and have passed unheeded, undetected. Maxwell had divined their existence, but the genius of Hertz revealed their presence, subjected them to measurement, and opened a new chapter in the theory of light. So it comes to pass that the blue haze around the negative electrode of a vacuum-tube,—first noticed as a curious peculiarity, then studied as a possible clue to the nature of electrical discharges under certain conditions, now disclosing a series of novel effects and a mode of operation of natural force hitherto unknown—reveals a wide and most promising field of scientific research.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEACHING,—A TRADE OR A PROFESSION?[1]

THE end of education is the actualization of the capacities of the human soul. It is in fact nothing less than the perfecting of manhood —the realization in each pupil of what each has it in him to become. But the child is not a chaos of potencies; he is an economy, an organization of faculties, of which reason and conscience are the crowning glory and the controlling authority. The teacher's peculiar work, therefore, is to develop, or rather to use those means which will incite the child to develop, his moral and rational self-activity. In the discharge of this function the teacher's own character is an element of even greater importance than his scholarship, though with defective scholarship no teacher can ever succeed. It is possible in mechanical pursuits to separate the workman from his work; in spiritual callings it is impossible. And in none is there greater or closer intimacy and contact between the agent and the object upon which he operates, than in the case of the schoolmaster. He teaches not only by his sayings and doings, but by the unvoiced and unwilled influence of his whole personality. Whether he will or no, his character in due time will mould the character of his pupils.

"The essential principle of education," said Pestalozzi, "is not teaching, it is love." In other words, the ideal teacher must have a heart as well as an intellect. It is soul that kindles soul. How subtle, but how real, is the contagious influence of personality. The disciple is not above his master; and if parents and teachers would see their children and pupils modest, polite, veracious, kind, just, loving, and loyal, their own characters must be established, their own lives animated, by the rule and spirit of these principles and sentiments. Dr. Arnold was right in insisting that the Rugby master should be "a Christian and a gentleman, an active man, and one who has common sense and understands boys." First the man, then the schoolmaster! The elevating and inspiring personality is hidden behind, or rather beams through, every great educator. A sound character, a loving

[1] From an address delivered February 18th before the National Educational Association, Department of Superintendence, at Jacksonville, Florida.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heart, and an enthusiastic soul are the spiritual roots, as an active brain and a level head are the intellectual roots, which nourish that substantive manhood required for the making of teachers.

I put these native endowments of heart and mind, and especially the ethical graces, in the foreground of our picture of the ideal teacher. Nevertheless I lay very great stress upon the scholastic and pedagogical qualifications. Though they are secondary, though they are subsidiary to the ethical attributes of heart and character which I have already mentioned, yet they are the only attainments by which a candidate's fitness to assume the functions of teaching may be subjected to any sort of test. It is at this point, and this point alone, that the public is in a position to protect itself from the presumptuous incapacity of those blind leaders who would otherwise undertake the education of the rising generation.

Let us then address ourselves to the very heart of our problem, and see what, in the public interest, we have a right to demand of young men and women in the way of knowledge and skill as a prerequisite for the exercise of the teaching function. This inquiry will lead us into some observations on the present condition of the teaching profession, in the course of which I shall compare it with the kindred vocations—the so-called "learned professions"—of law, medicine, and theology. Though the instruction of youth has become a public function, it is still as difficult to find properly qualified teachers as it was in those days of private and domestic tutoring when Socrates put his memorable question to Callias, the son of Hipponicus. With a shrewd irony that cut to the heart of things Socrates asked his enlightened townsman:—"Callias, if your two sons were foals or calves, there would be no difficulty in finding some one to put over them; we should hire a trainer of horses, or a farmer probably, who would improve and perfect them in their own proper virtue and excellence; but, as they are human beings, whom are you thinking of placing over them?"[1] *As they are human beings!* Everybody conceded that an expert was needed to train a foal; but the Athenian people had not yet attained the philosopher's insight that the education of human minds still more imperatively demands qualifications of a rare and special order.

Have the American people reached this higher point of view? They send 15,400,000 pupils to their schools, public and private; and for their public schools alone they engage 383,010 teachers and incur

[1] Plato's "Apology," p. 20.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an annual expenditure of $163,000,000.[1] These figures show the vast significance for us of the problem raised by Socrates. No longer a question of one tutor, one family, and one salary, it is here and now a question of hundreds of thousands of teachers, millions of pupils, and hundreds of millions of dollars. "Whom are you thinking of placing over them?"—this innumerable throng of boys and girls—is an inquiry of vital concern to every parent in the United States. Indeed, it touches the life-blood of our Republic and is one with the spirit of our civilization.

In the complexity of modern society, with its method of legislation and administration by means of selected officials, the individual citizen has little direct influence upon routine public affairs. Of course the machine which grinds out the people's business may be controlled either by altering its structure or changing the mechanicians. Still it takes time to make these modifications, which, as a rule, are brought about only by an appeal to public opinion. To-morrow may be in our hands, but to-day has already gone out from beyond the control of any private citizen. This is why the liberty and safety of a people are so dependent upon their laws and institutions. If the system is good, it is harder for officials to pervert it from its own ends. Excellence of organization must, therefore, always be the chief aim of a free people who will not surrender their freedom. Nor is there any part of the administration of public affairs which can be exempted from the operation of this maxim. To the system of public instruction it is especially applicable. For, in the first place, modern democracies compel parents to send their children to school; then, the training of youthful minds is the most important thing in the world; and, finally, as the individual parent can have no direct voice in the selection of teachers, he has the right to demand that the board of education, to which the community has entrusted the task, shall be guided by a system which is calculated to secure competent, efficient, and well-trained instructors. To put children to poor schools is not a right inherent in any commonwealth. Responsibility determines the limit of right; and the right of a state to have the children of its citizens educated is commensurate with the responsibility of the state to provide them with good teachers and protect them from professional incapacity and malpractice.

I cannot say, however, that teaching has amongst us attained the dignity of a profession. But, in virtue of the intellectual character of

[1] See pp. 2–3 of the last "Report of the Commissioner of Education," just issued. Though dated 1895, its statistics are of 1892–3.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the work, the special qualifications demanded of the teacher, and the indispensable need of the public to be protected against educational incompetence, teaching, if not yet an actual, is at any rate a potential, profession, which is destined at no distant day to put on its own proper rights, dignities, and prerogatives. When we reflect upon the circumstances which justify and even necessitate the establishment of guilds to which admittance is gained only upon the presentation of a certificate of competence, we must acknowledge that teaching is not less entitled to professional sanctions than law or medicine.

In practice, however, this vocation has one serious drawback from which no other learned profession suffers. The lawyer, the engineer, the physician, the architect, the clergyman, all expect to remain in their respective professions. Though changes do sometimes occur they are, as it were, accidental; they were not planned from the first; they are unexpected and unpremeditated. But with the teacher his work is often and will continue to be a mere stepping-stone to something else. Teaching is not so much his vocation as his avocation. This is not only a matter of common and almost proverbial observation, but is also susceptible of statistical demonstration. The increase in the total number of teachers in the United States from June 1891 to June 1892 was less than 2 per cent; but during that same year nearly 17 per cent of the teachers were wholly inexperienced beginners.[1] There had been an exodus, therefore, from the profession of about 15 per cent of its members during the year. Of these not more than 2 per cent would be accounted for by death. Consequently, if it were safe to generalize from data drawn from the experience of a single year, we should infer that the average length of the professional career of the American teacher is between seven and eight years. Fortunately, we have a partial verification of this conclusion, as one State, New Jersey, records the terms of service of its teachers. In that State the average time of service has been found to be seven years and eight months.[2] Of these Jersey teachers only 30.7 per cent have taught ten years or over, and only 3.9 per cent twenty-five years or over. That this rapid disappearance of teachers of experience must be due to local and national causes is evident from the fact that in the *Volksschulen* of Prussia 55.4 per cent of the whole number of teachers have served ten years and upward and 20.4 per cent twenty-five years and upward.

[1] Calculated from column 7 of table 13 (p. 60) in combination with the figures of diagram 9 (p. 55) of the "Report of the Commissioner of Education" for 1894 (which deals with the statistics of 1891–2). [2] Ibid, p. 61.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With the development of our civilization on its higher sides, and with consequent improvements in the position of our intellectual workers, we are pretty certain to see a falling off in the recurring decimation of the ranks of our teachers. But, after all allowance is made for preventable changes, it must still be admitted that the teaching profession will always have a more or less fluctuating membership. In the first place, young men and women who have completed their own education often need to earn money by teaching; and, if they are competent to teach, as some of them even without prolonged professional training are competent—sympathy with children and natural aptness giving them an intuitive skill—they will always find positions, and it would be a distinct loss and a great folly for the community to forego the advantage of such services solely because they were not to be rendered for life. But, secondly, the most potent agent in the disruption of the teaching corps is matrimony. Men can marry and teach; women cannot. Now two thirds of all the teachers in the United States are women. In Massachusetts and New Hampshire more than nine tenths of the teachers are women; in the rest of the New England States and in New York and New Jersey more than five sixths are women. The absolute number of male teachers in the entire country was not as great when the last census was taken as it was in 1880. In 1880–1 there were 293,860 teachers in the United States and in 1891–2 there were 374,460; of the former number 122,511 were men, of the latter 121,638. Even in 1892–3, when the total number of teachers had increased to 383,010, the male teachers (122,056) were not so numerous as in 1880, while since that date the number of female teachers has increased about 70 per cent.

I see no reason for thinking that the uninterrupted gain, relative and absolute, in the number of women teachers since 1880 is not destined to continue. And, considering the large part which the teacher plays in forming the mind and character of the rising generation, I regard it of good augury that woman's sympathy, quick intuition, purity and piety of heart have been so increasingly enlisted in the noble art of teaching, especially in the primary schools. If she is thoroughly trained, her services, though liable at any time to be cut short, are of inestimable value in the education of our children.

But, if the ordinances of nature make it impossible for most members of the teaching profession to serve for life, it is all the more incumbent on society to see that all who do enlist, whether for longer or shorter periods, shall be thoroughly qualified for the service. It

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

now remains to consider how this requirement shall be met. In the light of all that has been said it is perfectly clear that the sole hope of the profession of teaching lies in the insistence upon high standards of qualification for the office.

The condition for admittance to any learned profession is that the candidates shall have some general education and some special training. I say "some"; for even in the case of the older professions the amounts are fluctuating and indeterminate. The ideal clergyman, lawyer, and physician is no doubt one who, along with his other qualifications, has had a college education and a subsequent training in a professional school,—the whole occupying a period of six or seven years. I need not say that in practice the breach of this rule is more frequent than its observance. In 1891–2 there were in the United States 25,954 students of medicine in all its branches, and of these only 1,342 were reported as having literary or scientific degrees. The showing for law and theology, bad though it is, is not so bad as for medicine. Out of 6,073 law students 1,118 had literary or scientific degrees, and out of 7,729 divinity students 1,961. That is to say, only 25 per cent of our theological, only 18 per cent of our legal, and only 5 per cent of our medical students have received a liberal education.

We have no means of ascertaining how many persons enter these callings without any professional education; but the number is not inconsiderable, and the majority of them are, I imagine, without a liberal education as well. Some kind of course—at least a year of six months—is generally required for admission to the medical profession; and this minimum has accredited many an American Æsculapius. But the present day is witnessing splendid improvements in medical instruction, and requirements for graduation have been greatly advanced. The regulations for admission to the ministry are as varied as religious denominations are numerous; but there can be no doubt that a goodly company of persons of undoubted piety, but of zeal untempered with knowledge, annually reach the pulpit by other avenues than the doors of the college and theological seminary. As to the legal profession, it must be remembered that the founding of schools of law is the work of this generation; and as in the past it was not possible, so at present it is not imperative for the future lawyer to secure a professional training. But the custom is rapidly spreading. And as an indication of the progress already made it may be mentioned that at the examinations for admission to the New York State Bar the questions set by the examiners are, I am informed, of such a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

character that only candidates thoroughly trained in schools of law are qualified to grapple with them.

I shall say nothing of the liberal education and the special training demanded by the newer professions of engineering, architecture, and the like, for the reason that statistics, which are sadly inadequate in the case of the older professions, are here absolutely non-existent. I simply desire to raise the question whether, taking the country as a whole, these professions, which some anachronistic seats of learning still fail to recognize, are not, in virtue of the solid and prolonged training which their members receive in the technological schools, better entitled to the designation of "learned" than, in their present status, the venerable trinity of law, medicine, and theology.

When we compare the teacher's profession with those just mentioned, we become aware that neither in ideal nor yet in practice or in tendency does it make even as high demands as the least meritorious of them. It has been thought that any one who was willing to undertake the drudgery could keep school. We have not insisted strenuously, because we have not felt strongly, upon the indispensableness either of a thorough knowledge of the subjects to be taught or of a trained skill in the art and method of teaching them. In one of his letters to Motley, John Stuart Mill, that English friend of the United States, deplored "the fatal belief of your public that anybody is fit for anything."[1] This optimistic conceit was no doubt developed by the practice of the earlier Americans who turned their hands to anything, and, thanks to the bounty of a virgin continent, generally with good results. But progress has given rise to specialization, and the American, like the European, has become a specialist. He is learning to do one thing well. Already the "fatal belief" deprecated by Mill has disappeared from business, where it means ruin and bankruptcy, and from manufacturing and transportation, where it means arson and murder. But it still survives in our administration of public affairs, where the evil consequences, though greater, are not so strongly felt because they are less personal, less tangible, and more widely diffused. I hesitate to say that anything is or could be worse than our unreformed civil service, yet I suspect the baneful character of what Mill calls that "fatal belief" is most strikingly revealed in our administration of education.

It is at this point that reform must begin. As Professor Laurie has well said, "the education question, now at least, is a question of the

[1] Motley's "Life and Letters," Vol. II., p. 115.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

qualification of public school teachers." [1] I am not insensible to the value of the admirable reports on various subjects made to the National Educational Association and to the Department of Superintendence by the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Fifteen. But at the present time I consider all other educational questions subordinate to the primary and fundamental problem of securing competent teachers. Nor can I doubt that this problem is to be solved by fixing a worthy standard both of liberal scholarship and of professional training for every grade of teacher.

As regards the scholastic attainments of the teacher I need not say they are indispensable. No one can teach what he does not know. But this is only half the truth. The other half, though less obvious, is more important. No one can teach all he knows. Much is lost in the friction of expression and transmission. You can convey to another mind only a small fraction of what is in your own mind. Try to repeat a train of reasoning you have just followed, or a story at which you have just laughed, and you will verify in your own experience the point I am now insisting upon; for you will find that the sequence of thought, links of association, and turns and tricks of expression,—if not the very substance of the subject,—will not repeat themselves in your rehearsal, though you thought in the beginning that nothing was wanting. It is clear, therefore, that the teacher must know a good deal more than his most advanced pupil. A safe working rule is that *the teacher of a common school must have passed through a high school and the teacher of a high school must have graduated at college.* The practical observance of this rule would do more than any other single reform, not only to dignify the teaching profession, but to elevate and improve the schools.

I hasten to add that this requirement has the endorsement of the Committee of Fifteen, whose report was adopted at the last meeting of the association of American superintendents. And I cannot think it unreasonable to demand of school authorities that, in the appointment of teachers, they shall be governed by a rule which is based on the laws of mind and which is accepted and endorsed by such practical educators as the school superintendents of the United States. This is a matter of capital importance. The insuperable obstacle in the way of a better education for the boys and girls of America is the baneful belief of their parents that any one who has been at school is fitted to teach school. Folly and presumption! He who has passed through a primary school is not fitted to teach a primary school. He who has

[1] "Primary Instruction," p. 12.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

completed the course of a high school or academy is not qualified to teach a high school or academy. He who has been trained at a normal school is not competent to teach a normal school. In every case the teacher must be a graduate of an institution of a higher grade than that which he teaches: he must be at least four years ahead of his most advanced pupils. Teachers of elementary schools must have completed the course of the secondary schools; teachers of high schools, academies, and normal schools must be college graduates, and the day has now arrived when the same demands must be made of superintendents.

Let us look next at the professional training of teachers; and, first, of elementary teachers.

There are no statistics to show how many primary teachers have completed a high school course and received professional training before entering upon their career. But only 15 per cent of all teachers in the United States have passed through normal schools.[1] This fact measures the distance which still separates us from the ideal training of elementary teachers. If my estimate is correct, not one sixth of our primary teachers come up to the minimum limit of scholarship and professional knowledge and skill. Nor is this all. Studies fitted to yield a liberal education fail of that effect if the pupil's mind is distracted from the subject by thinking of the technical use to which it may be put. Now the very notion of a normal school is the accentuation of method. Consequently the pupil who goes to the normal school both for academic instruction and professional training runs an imminent risk of missing literary and scientific culture in his intent quest of a method which, in the absence of such intellectual nurture, is a delusion and a futility, if not indeed a positive menace. The fact is that professionalism is fatal to generous education, and meagre scholarship is a dangerous soil for pedagogical doctrine and method. Yet the normal schools are the creatures of their organization and environment. If, instead of trained intelligence, they too often produce routine, the fault is not theirs. They are making the best of a pernicious system. It is we who are to blame: the public who have demanded of the normal schools concurrent academic instruction and technical training. We require them to achieve simultaneously ends which are mutually incompatible. The remedy is to relieve the normal schools of the task of furnishing a liberal education. Leave them to their original and

[1] A rough estimate from the figures given in column 4 of table 13 (p. 60) of the 1894 "Report of the Commissioner of Education."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

legitimate function of training primary school teachers in the theory, method, and practice of teaching. Let the secondary instruction which the normal schools now undertake be delegated to the high schools and academies, to which alone it properly belongs. Or, if the normal schools are to retain it, let pupils finish the academic course before entering upon the professional course. First a logical knowledge of the subject, then a pedagogical manipulation of it; first the spontaneous attitude of the learner, then the reflective art of the teacher.

Let us turn now to the professional training of the secondary teachers and superintendents of schools. Bear in mind the vital function which they discharge in the economy of public instruction. Coming themselves from the colleges, it is their duty and prerogative to educate the teachers of the common schools. If they are not the "cerebrum" of the educational system, they are at any rate the adjacent centres which send out active messengers to every part of the organism. It is true that our secondary schools are outnumbered a score of times by our elementary schools, which, in their primary and grammar grades, enroll more than 96 per cent of our entire school population. Still, when we remember that it is the function of the secondary schools to educate teachers for this vast army of elementary pupils, we shall recognize that they have a unique importance in the system of public instruction and deserve a consideration and fostering care far above anything to which they might be entitled on the score of their numerical proportions alone. The schools of the people cannot be efficient if the high schools and academies, in which their teachers must be educated, are not also efficient. There is no educational question of such momentous significance to-day as the culture and training of those young men and women who are to become teachers in our high schools, academies, and normal schools, or who are to become superintendents of schools.

So far as general scholarship is concerned the requirement has been already stated. No one is qualified to teach a high school or academy who has not substantially completed a college course or its equivalent. But this rule needs further limitations. There are colleges and colleges. The better the institution the stronger is the presumption in favor of its diploma. But there are courses and courses; and a modern degree in arts, letters, philosophy, or science, has no definite significacation. It seems to me that the graduate should have devoted at least half his time during the four years of his college course to that group of subjects (Latin and Greek, or Mathematics and Physics, or English

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and History) which he proposes to teach in the secondary school. Lastly, there are scholars and scholars. And I should think it hazardous to recommend any graduate for appointment as a secondary teacher who had not maintained, at least for the latter part of his college course, a first-class standing in the subjects he "professes."

What now of the professional training of the prospective teachers of our high schools and academies? We send bachelors of arts or of science who desire to enter the legal or medical or engineering profession to schools of law or medicine or technology for professional training. Without such technical preparation we deem them unfit to assume those vocations. What then is the corresponding institution to which those college graduates must repair whose intention it is to devote themselves to the higher grades of educational work, whether as normal or high school teachers or as superintendents of schools?

For the professional training of this class of candidates no pedagogical institute has yet been established in America. The existing normal schools are designed for pupils of much less intellectual maturity and culture. Our normal schools train primary teachers in their art and generally also give them such liberal education as they possess. If the normal schools continue to discharge both functions they must resist the almost irresistible temptation, which is inseparable from such an arrangement, of sacrificing knowledge of subjects to skill in the art of presenting them to pupils. But, even though the normal schools did perfect work for the primary grade of teachers, it lies in the nature of the case that they cannot train young men and women who, on graduation at colleges and universities, desire to qualify themselves by high professional education to become teachers of high schools, academies and normal schools, and superintendents of schools. Yet, in this age of specialization and professional training, the state cannot afford to leave secondary teachers and superintendents behind. There must be seminaries for training them, to which they shall be admitted as soon as they have graduated in the branch or branches of knowledge they desire to teach.

A training college for secondary teachers should not, however, be an isolated institution. Its true place is among the professional schools of the university. Teaching, like law and medicine, being a learned profession, needs the support and recognition of the university, apart from which no professional school of high grade has ever been able to maintain an existence. This is a point on which the most distinguished educational writers and practitioners of all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countries are agreed. I merely cite as typical authorities the weighty names of Dr. W. M. Payne in this country, of Dr. J. G. Fitch in England, and of Dr. S. S. Laurie in Scotland; whose writings are among the classics of the theory and practice of education.[1] But I desire to call special attention to the fact that the establishment, at the great universities, of institutions for the training of secondary teachers is one of the most important recommendations made by the British Royal Commission on Secondary Education, whose report, in eight volumes, has within the last few months been given to the public. Indeed it would seem from the fifth volume[2] of that report, which is made up of memoranda and answers to questions from experts consulted by the Commisssion, that the most distinguished educational workers of Great Britain consider the foundation of post-graduate pedagogical schools at Oxford and Cambridge for the professional training of secondary teachers as the greatest desideratum and the most hopeful reform of the present day.

The establishment of a pedagogical school, open only to college graduates who desire to prepare for the work of high school teaching or of school superintendence, and ranking with graduate schools of law or medicine, is, I know, a novel proposal. But, if it is reasonable, it will not be rejected because it is new. And I think I have shown that such an advanced institution is demanded by the development of our educational life and work. The universities have attempted to meet the need by the foundation of chairs of pedagogy. Legal instruction has gone through the very same history. At first some college, recognizing that law was a science, and seeing the need of thoroughly trained lawyers, established a professorship of law. Many years later the first fully organized school of law appeared. In New York State the late Professor Dwight united these two stages of development in his own life and work. I have no doubt that the moment is now ripe for the corresponding transformation, at some American university, of the single professorship of pedagogy into a school of pedagogy fully organized with a faculty, as large as that of law or medicine, for instruction and investigation in all that pertains to the theory and history

[1] See Payne's "Contributions to the Science of Education," pp. 269–70; Fitch's "Lectures on Teaching," pp. 18–19; and Laurie's "Teachers' Guild Addresses," pp. 209–212, 217.

[2] See the statement of Oscar Browning on p. 141, of H. T. Gerrans on p. 161, of W. W. Jackson on p. 183, of Agnes C. Maitland on p. 193, of A. Sidgwick on pp. 241–2, of T. H. Warren on pp. 256–7, of Canon Daniel on pp. 402–3, of H. C. Bowen on pp. 462–3, and of James Sully on pp. 472–6.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of teaching, and for observation and practice of the art itself in schools which shall be to the prospective teacher what clinics are to the prospective physician.

This school of pedagogy should have a two-years' course of professional study,—which, however, should be open to juniors and seniors in the courses of liberal arts and sciences for electives—aggregating not more than one year of pedagogical work. For graduation at college and at the pedagogical school the shortest time would, therefore, be five years. As in a school of medicine, the professional course would be partly theoretical and partly practical. The practical work would consist of observation and practice in teaching. It would be carried on, either in a school connected with the pedagogical college, or by special arrangement with the authorities in the schools of the neighborhood. The theoretical work would embrace an exhaustive study of the subject with which every teacher has to deal—mind, including both its fundamental operations and laws and the varied modes of its development, normal and abnormal, in children and adolescents, as well as the physical and physiological circumstances by which its growth is conditioned.

Psychology is the basal science in the curriculum; it is to the school of pedagogy what the subject of contracts is to the school of law, or physiology to the school of medicine. But besides psychology, which would be taught with special reference to its educational uses, two other subjects may be singled out for mention on account of their fundamental importance. One is the history and philosophy of education,—a study of educational ideals and methods, both systematically and in connection with the writings of great educational reformers; and the other is school economy, under which are included such practical topics as the organization of schools, examinations, functions of superintendents and principals, school laws, school buildings, furniture, etc. From two thirds to three fourths of the student's time should be devoted to theoretical instruction; the rest should be given to experimental teaching, observation of teaching, and the colloquies and criticisms arising out of this employment. Those who complete the course in the pedagogical college should receive from superintendents of public instruction all the rights and privileges now conceded to graduates of normal schools, and whatever additional prerogatives might be thought due to such a prolonged and thorough course of liberal scholarship and professional education.

The hope of the teaching craft is with the university. It is a new

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

illustration both of the unity of all education and of the logical pre-eminence of the university that, as in its collegiate department the university educates teachers for the secondary schools, so among its graduate or professional departments there must be a normal or pedagogical institute to give the secondary teachers professional training. I predict that the next development in our universities will be the establishment of a graduate school of pedagogy—not a chair, but a fully organized school—which shall be open only to college graduates or persons of similar scholastic standing, and which will uplift, ennoble, and liberalize the teaching profession,—which is in constant danger of degenerating into a sorry trade,—as schools of law, medicine, and technology have already dignified the callings of the lawyer, the doctor, and the engineer.

I have said that the reform I propose is a novel one. But as a matter of history I find that the idea of a teachers' college as a department of a university was struck out by a schoolmaster of the age of Queen Elizabeth, no less a personage than Richard Mulcaster, who was master of Edmund Spenser and whom Shakespeare, it has been conjectured, had in mind when he wrote "Love's Labour 's Lost." Some of the reasons given by Mulcaster have, as Mr. Quick truly says, not gone out of date with his English:—

"I conclude therefore that this trade requireth a particular college, for these four causes. First, for the subject being the mean to make or mar the whole fry of our State. Secondly, for the number, whether of them that are to learn, or of them that are to teach. Thirdly, for the necessity of the profession, which may not be spared. Fourthly, for the matter of their study, which is comparable to the greatest professions." [1]

If this suggestion of Mulcaster's, made and ably defended three hundred years ago, had been carried out, how different, not merely in England, but in America, would have been the condition of the teaching profession at the present day! It is an historic fact that law, medicine, theology, and even engineering owe their strength and dignity as professions to their organic connection with universities. We can only imagine what gain would have accrued to the teaching profession if post-graduate schools of the science and art of teaching had, in a somewhat similar fashion, found their appropriate place in the organization of the universities. As it is, we have lost the inspiration and guidance which should have come from our highest seats of learning to the humblest teachers of our rural schools by indirect radiation through

[1] Quick's "Educational Reformers," pp. 100–101.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

superintendents and teachers of high schools and normal schools, in whose liberal education and special professional training the spirit and influence of the university ought to be continuously active. Indeed we had almost forgotten, until Dr. Tappan and Dr. Fitch reminded us of it, that the pre-eminent function of the university is to teach and to supply the world with its teachers. Every one knows the result. As wisdom is justified of her children, so the neglect of wisdom brings the irrevocable Nemesis. It is a thankless task to make criticisms and expose defects, and I prefer to leave the office to a foreign observer, a keen, though fair-minded and friendly German.

We have scarcely yet ceased to laud and magnify our great World's Fair at Chicago. As an exhibition of material civilization in vast structures of pure and classic beauty, no praise can be too high for it. But our foreign visitors did not carry away such exalted impressions of our attainments in those things of the spirit which alone give to human life its worth and dignity. Here we are concerned only with education. And this is what one of the most competent of European experts—Dr. E. Schlee, Director of the Real-Gymnasium at Altona—thought of our system and its results:—

"If in every office the chief factor is the man, and in school the teacher, we have come to the weakest point in the American school system—professional teachers are wanting. That is to say, most teachers are deficient in the requisite scientific and pedagogic preparation for their vocation." [1]

The scheme of reform I have advocated would remove this reproach from our profession. We need for our secondary schools teachers with more knowledge of their subjects and with the best professional training a post-graduate school of pedagogy at a good university can furnish; the same qualifications must be demanded of superintendents; and when these workers in the higher grades are thoroughly equipped with knowledge and professional skill, their influence will extend in all directions till it permeates and leavens the great body of elementary teachers. As inspiration must always come from above, it is imperative that reforms shall begin with the educational workers in the higher spheres. This is the quickest and most effective way of reaching the entire corps. No apology, therefore, is needed for urgent advocacy of the reform outlined in this article. For the rest I hold, with Plato, that the business of reforming education is the chief work of every man.

J. G. SCHURMAN.

[1] "Report of the Commissioner of Education," p. 544.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOIBLES OF THE NEW WOMAN.

WHEN woman revolts against her normal functions and sphere of action, desiring instead to usurp man's prerogatives, she entails upon herself the inevitable penalty of such irregular conduct, and, while losing the womanliness which she apparently scorns, fails to attain the manliness for which she strives. But, unmindful of the frowns of her observers, she is unto herself a perpetual delight, calling herself and her kind by the epithets "new," "awakened," and "superior," and speaking disdainfully of women who differ from her in what, to her judgment, is the all-important question of life—"Shall women vote or not?" To enumerate her foibles is a dangerous task, for what she asserts to-day she will deny to-morrow. She is a stranger to logic, and when consistency was given to mortals the New Woman was conspicuously absent. Her egotism is boundless. She boasts that she has discovered herself, and says it is the greatest discovery of the century. She has christened herself the "new," but when her opponent speaks of her by that name she replies with characteristic contrariety that the New Woman, like the sea-serpent, is largely an imaginary creature. Nevertheless, in the next sentence, she will refer to herself by her favorite cognomen. She has made many strange statements, and one question she often asks is, "What has changed woman's outlook so that she now desires that of which her grandmother did not dream?"

Within the past forty years woman has demanded of man much that he has graciously granted her. She wanted equality with him, and it has been given her in all things for which she is fitted and which will not lower the high standard of womanhood that he desires for her. This she accepts without relinquishing any of the chivalrous attentions which man always bestows upon her. The New Woman tells us that "an ounce of justice is of more value to woman than a ton of chivalry." But, when she obtains her "ounce of justice," she apparently still makes rigorous demands that her "ton of chivalry" be not omitted. Woman asked to work by man's side and on his level; and to-day she has the chance of so doing. The fields of knowledge and opportunity have been opened to her; and she still "desires that of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which her grandmother did not dream," because, like an over-indulged child, so long as she is denied one privilege, that privilege she desires above all others. She has decided that without the ballot she can do nothing, for, in her vocabulary, ballot is synonymous with power.

The New Woman is oftentimes the victim of strange hallucinations. She persists in calling herself a "slave," despite her high position and great opportunities; and she maintains that, because she cannot vote, she is classed with lunatics and idiots,—until those who are weary of hearing her constant iterations of these themes feel that, if the classification were true, it might not be unjust. Still, it has not been clearly shown that withholding the ballot from woman, in common with lunatics and idiots, necessarily makes her one. Women and cripples are exempt from working on roads; does it follow that all women are cripples? Is a woman a bird because she walks on two legs? This hackneyed cry about lunatics and idiots, which has been uttered by nearly all writers and speakers favoring woman suffrage, appeals to prejudice rather than intelligence. If the would-be female politicians—ignoring woman's great opportunities, especial privileges, and the silent testimony of countless happy wives,—choose to consider themselves "slaves," and to announce whenever they speak that they are classed with lunatics and idiots because they are denied the ballot, they are certainly entitled to all the enjoyment they can get out of the delusion. Sensible people know that such statements are false.

The New Woman says that a "mother's prerogative ends at the garden gate"; but common sense replies that no mother's prerogative ends there. A mother's prerogative is to govern and direct her child; and there is no child that does not carry through life his or her mother's influence. Let that influence be good or bad, it is always present. Any mother can make, if she will, her power over her child "stronger than the seas of earth, and purer than the air of heaven"; and she needs no especial legislative act to accomplish her work. If woman does not make the laws, she trains and educates those who do, and thus is indirectly responsible for all legislation.

The plea which these women make, that they need the ballot for the protection of their homes, is self-contradictory. Has the New Woman never heard that "to teach early is to engrave on marble"? If she would devote some of the time in which she struggles to obtain the ballot to rational reflection on the influence a woman has over the pre-natal life of a child, and would then consider what a mother may do with a plastic human life,—say during the first seven years of its

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

existence and before it goes out to be contaminated by the evil influences of the world,—she would then find that ballots are not what women need for the protection of their homes. But the faculty of logically reasoning from cause to effect has never been characteristic of the New Woman.

She laments because government is deprived, by lack of equal suffrage, of the "keen moral sense that is native to women as a class." Since all the people in the world are born of women and trained by women, it is difficult to see how government, or anything else, lacks woman's "keen moral sense." Can women make no use of their moral sense without the ballot?

It is a chronic grievance with the New Woman that she is taxed without representation. She scorns to be represented by the sons she has reared, or by the men who come under her immediate influence. These she pronounces unworthy and considers incapable of doing her justice. But when she is told that, if women vote, they should also bear the burdens of war in case of necessity, she replies with her usual inconsistency, "She who bears soldiers need not bear arms." She has not the aversion to being represented by men on the field of battle that she has to being represented by them in legislative halls and at the ballot-box. She greatly deprecates man's selfishness and tyranny, as exhibited in human history. But she has come vaunting into the arena with "woman's clubs" and "conventions" and "leagues" and "tribunes" and "signals." If a periodical be not wholly devoted to women, they demand that it must at least have its "woman's column" wherein they may chronicle the most insignificant acts of the sex.

The New Woman tells us that the present century is her own; and, indeed, she approaches the truth in this instance. She has promised us a "Woman's Bible," and she has shown that even the Infinite Father does not escape her jealousy, for she has discovered that we should pray to a "Heavenly Mother" as well as to a Heavenly Father. She informs us that the Pilgrim Fathers are no more, and adds, "There stepped on Plymouth Rock, on the bleak shores of New England, thirty-two women accompanied by sixty-nine men and children." At expositions she must have a "woman's building," wherein she may glorify the work of her brain and hand. No work done by man can be placed beside hers for examination or competition. Surely she furnishes a noteworthy example of modesty and self-abnegation for the benefit of the tyrant man!

An illustration of the New Woman's fallacious judgment is shown

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by her belief that all opponents of equal suffrage are controlled by brewers and liquor dealers. "Sold to the liquor interest" is the cry she always utters when she detects a note of opposition. Now, it is entirely probable that some may object to the extension of the franchise to women and, at the same time, lead thoroughly temperate lives and work for the promotion of temperance. The word temperance means more than total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, and the New Woman has not yet proved that a vote by a woman means a vote for temperance principles.

"Woman's vote will purify politics." This is her favorite cry. Not long since a prominent equal-suffrage lecturer, while earnestly setting forth this claim, and enlarging on the shameless manner in which men conduct elections, declared that woman's chaste and refined influence was the only thing that could change the present undesirable condition of affairs. She was not ashamed, however, to relate, before the close of her lecture, that, a short time previous, her sister had induced the family's hired man to vote for a certain measure by presenting him, on the eve of election, with a half-dozen new shirts, made by her own hands. The absurdity of this incident reached a climax when it was noticed that, in a large audience of women, few saw anything wrong in female bribery. The fair speaker omitted to inform her audience whether or not this was to be the prevailing mode of political purification, when one half of the burdens of state rest on female shoulders. But, as women never lack expedients, some purifying process, less laborious than shirt-making, may soon be devised.

The New Woman requests that the opponents of equal suffrage open their "dust-covered histories" and therein read of examples of famous women of the past whose lives forever silence all arguments against granting the ballot to woman. Let it be remembered that the New Woman's greatest grievance, since her earliest advent, is the lack of woman's power. Without the ballot woman can do nothing. "Bricks without straw,—that has been the doom of woman throughout the ages," is her disconsolate wail. An extremely brilliant New Woman rarely makes a speech without saying, "Women will enter every place on the round earth, and they will purify every place they enter." With these statements in mind, by all means let the "dust-covered histories" be opened so that we may see the "bricks without straw" which the women "without power" have made, and the manner in which they have purified every place they have entered.

Catherine de Medici prevailed on Charles IX of France to give the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

order for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. This crime, which she boasted of to Catholics and excused to Protestants, greatly increased her power, which she used unscrupulously, even conniving at the murder of her own son when she considered him an obstacle to her advancement. She died amid the fierce strife of wars, which she had caused, her use of political power having been only an injury to the world.

Madame de Maintenon, using the power which she so long exercised over Louis XIV, instigated the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Its most odious features were her especial work. She had been false to her native creed; and she was determined that her fellow Protestants should be equally false. She drove from the shores of France many of its best and most intelligent people. All the bloody history of that period was the result of one woman's work.

During the reign of Louis XV of France the court was under the absolute dominion of women, yet none of the instances of ancient and modern immorality presents such an astounding display of individual and national corruption as do those of the time when Madame de Pompadour ruled the king of France. She did nothing for the alleviation of human wretchedness during those twenty years of power and splendid opportunity. She was largely to blame for the evils in church and state which caused the revolution and overturned all in one common ruin. It may be urged that no good woman would have been raised to power by such means as she accepted; and consequently no good could be hoped for from her. But she and her successor, Madame Du Barry, furnish proof that there are women whose advancement to high positions would only increase evil influences; and there are many such who would quickly seize the enlarged opportunities of suffrage, while many good women, engrossed with home cares, would be indifferent to the ballot.

Woman's record in the first French revolution was one of cruelty and horror. The "Patriot Knitters," as they were called, could shriek or knit according to the requirements of the case. They could also urge men to deeds of violence; and could themselves do violent deeds. Carlyle said that these women had exchanged the "distaff for the dagger." If they had kept the distaff and let the dagger alone France would have lost nothing in the way of political advancement, and might have been spared much of her horrifying history. There was an entire absence of any political purification in their influence.

There is no name in history of which women boast more than that of Queen Elizabeth, always quoting her in evidence of what women

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might do, could they be intrusted with affairs of state. Froude, in summing up his exhaustive work on the time of Queen Elizabeth, wrote:—

"The great results of her reign were the fruits of a policy which was not her own, and which she starved and mutilated when energy and completeness were needed. She was remorseless when she ought to have been most forbearing, and lenient when she ought to have been stern. She owed her safety and success to the incapacity and divisions of her enemies, rather than to wisdom and resolution of her own."

Humiliating as it may be to those women who clamor for a voice in national affairs, the historical truth is, that the splendors of the Elizabethan age were due to her ministers, Burleigh and Walsingham.

Catherine II of Russia is also a great favorite with the New Woman. One of them has said, "Next to the great Peter, she was the ablest administrator Russia has ever known." In the life and reign of Catherine II, Empress of Russia—she who became such through the murder of her husband, in which crime she had borne full well her share,—there is but little to admire or emulate. She was unquestionably a woman of great talents and energy, but her morals were no better than Madame de Pompadour's.

These examples and many more may be found in the "dust-covered histories." But, if the New Woman will read history with honest eyes, she can never find that women have ever lacked power; neither can she prove that in the past they have purified all the places they have entered; what authority, then, has she for the statement that they would purify every place they may enter in the future? Woman was endowed by her Creator with marvellous power, and, from the time of our first parents until now, that power has been a "savour of life unto life, or of death unto death," as has been eminently manifested in the teachings of history and the experience of human life.

The New Woman has a mania for reform movements. No sooner does she descry an evil than she immediately moves against it with some sort of an organized force. This is very noble of her,—if she have no other duties to perform. It would be more gratifying if her organizations met with greater success; but alas! her efforts, mighty as they are, usually represent just so much valuable time wasted. The evils remain, and continue to increase. She disdains to inquire into the cause of her numerous failures, and moves serenely on bent upon reforming everything she imagines to be wrong. When she gets the ballot all will be well with the world, and for that day she works and waits. But if the New Woman or any other woman neglects pri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vate duties for public works, her reform efforts are not noble, but extremely unworthy of her; for the "duty which lies nearest" is still the most sacred of duties. Possibly the many *Mrs. Jellybys* of the present day and the undue interest in "Borrioboola-gha" may have something to do with so much being wrong in the average home and with the average individual. When we read of women assembling together, parading streets, and entering saloons to create, as they say, "a public sentiment for temperance," it is but natural to ask, What are the children of such mothers doing in the meantime? And it will not be strange if many of them become drunkards for the coming generation of reformers to struggle with. The New Woman refuses to believe that duty, like charity, begins at home, and cannot see that the most effectual way to keep clean is not to allow dirt to accumulate.

The New Woman professes to believe that all women are good and will use their influence for noble ends,—when they are allowed the right of suffrage. This theory is extremely pleasant, if it were only demonstrable; but here, as elsewhere, it is folly to ignore the incontrovertible facts. Woman cannot shirk her responsibility for the sins of the earth. It is easy for her to say that men are bad; that, as a class, they are worse than women. But who trained these bad men? Was it not woman? Herein lies the inconsistency of women—striving for a chance to do good when the opportunity is inherently theirs. It is only when they have neglected to train the saplings aright that the trees are misshapen.

It was the New Woman's earliest, and is her latest, foible that woman is superior to man. Perhaps she is. But the question is not one of superiority or inferiority. There is at bottom of all this talk about women nature's inexorable law. Man is man and woman is woman. That was the order of creation and it must so remain. It is idle to compare the sexes in similar things. It is a question of difference, and the "happiness and perfection of both depend on each asking and receiving from the other what the other only can give."

> **"For woman is not undevelopt man,**
> **But diverse: could we make her as the man,**
> **Sweet Love were slain: his dearest bond is this,**
> **Not like to like, but like in difference."**

Sentimental and slavish as this may sound to many ears, it is as true as any of the unchanging laws governing the universe, and is the Creator's design for the reproduction and maintenance of the race.

ELLA W. WINSTON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PRESENT OUTLOOK OF SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

THE Whig revolution, which began on the fall of mediæval society and culminated in the French revolution, on the one hand, and the establishment of the factory organization of production amidst the ruins of handicraft, on the other, seemed in the first half of this century to have stranded the civilized world on a period of academical coma, having some analogy to the great period of the classical civilization inaugurated by the accession of Augustus. In England at any rate a *modus vivendi* had been established between the employers of labor and their "hands," and free-trade and the abolition of the corn laws had so greased the wheels of factory production that, though profits were not made on the extravagant scale which obtained in the earlier years of the century, they were still very large, and the result was to increase enormously the wealth, numbers, and consequent power of the middle classes. In politics the Whigs, under the new name of Liberals, were marching on triumphantly, and of feudal survivals all but the semblance was abolished; and modern democracy, on the basis of irresistible, nay unquestionable, commercialism, seemed to be on the very point of being firmly established. It is true that in Britain religion lagged behind, and that "freethinking," which had long been accepted as an essential part of the Whig revolution on the continent, was here revolutionary and unrespectable, as an open and expressed opinion, though even then almost universal amongst intelligent persons. For the deep-seated hypocrisy of our nation (and perhaps race), which has often, wrongly as I think, been dignified with the historical title of "Puritanism," would not allow facts to be faced openly on this side of things.

As to literature and the fine arts, there had been for some time a stirring amongst the dry bones in the first, and the nonentity of the eighteenth century, of which the dullard Pope was the high-priest, had been invaded early in the nineteenth century by the men of genius of the dawning Romantic school. Poetry began again and it became once more possible to forget the miseries of real life by burying oneself in the idealities of the great inventors.

But literature, less than any of the arts, depends on its surroundings,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the imagination of those who have steeped themselves in the life of serious periods of history, as shown us by their still existing works, can free itself from the ugliness and trivialities of to-day and produce something which is not alien in idea from the living art of the past. Art, in its narrower sense, is not so fortunate, and on all hands can be oppressed by its surroundings. On this side, when the whole world is sick, the men of special talent or genius share the sickness in one way or other; either their sense of beauty is deadened, or they seek for expression of it in fierce antagonism to the life and thought of the passing time, and the present public either corrupts or neglects them. In this period of Whig ascendency, therefore, art was, let us say, lying asleep, and its condition was not ill expressed by the stupidity and emptiness of the London Exhibition of 1851—the first of the series of advertising shows which have since cursed the world with their pretentious triviality. Even the painters of pictures, the producers of art who approach nearer than others to the men of inventive literature, were sunk low indeed. Here and there was a man who rose above his fellows into something like genius, though even his aims were not high, nor his scope wide, as Turner for instance; here and there a man of unquestionable industry and conscientiousness, as Maclise; but, as for the general body of "artists" as they were called, they were about worthy of the somewhat vulgar contempt showered upon them in Thackeray's novels. In short, no man of sense ever troubled himself about "high art," except as a matter of officialism, or as a piece of affectation which his position in society forced upon him.

As for architecture and its kindred arts, people scarcely knew of the existence of such things. Stupid ugliness was worshipped under the name of simplicity or gentlemanly restraint. Beauty or incident was not so much as thought of. Even the active hatred of beauty, which the Philistine cultivates with such single-minded ardor to-day, implies a somewhat better position for the arts than the sordid dulness of the triumphant Whiggery of the "fifties."

Commerce, the one thing needful; politics, the slave of the markets; literature, existing only in rebellion; art forgotten, beauty dead: this, it seemed, was to be the ultimate gain of "The heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time."

Seemed—but, slowly as the course of events in modern times crawls along, a change has begun to show within the last twenty years. In economics the principle of *laissez faire*, which in the period above spoken of seemed to have been accepted as irrevocable by statesman

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and dustman alike, has been blown to the winds more in practice even than in theory, and collective action is admitted everywhere to be the machinery through which we must of necessity strive to make the best of our surroundings. In politics, if they have not become more democratic in the old sense of the word, the word itself has changed its meaning, and no longer signifies a consensus of the rich middle classes, but rather the gathering of opinion of the working classes, not, it must be admitted, for the purpose of enabling them to manage their own affairs (*i. e.* the best method for the production of common utilities), but at least to let the governing or possessing class find out what steps may be necessary to be taken to make the only useful class of the community temporarily contented.

In literature and the arts again there has been some stirring of the dry bones, though I cannot think it has been either deep or widely spread. Yet we have seen a man, whose poetry was once thought the very acme of wild eccentricity, dying a peer of the realm without having to make any considerable recantation; and the Romantic school so successful that it is now rather rebelled against than rebelling. In the arts, owing chiefly to the energy and genius of three young men—Rosetti, Holman Hunt, and Millais,—it is at least possible for painters of pictures to live by giving their genius free scope, if they have it in them, however sore the struggle may be against their isolated position which denies them the support of a reasonable unbroken tradition. Furthermore, owing to the genuine instinct for the study of history which is a birth of these latter days, there has grown up some appreciation of the great architectural works of the Middle Ages, and a certain number of highly educated and refined men have now for some time been struggling against the hideousness of our modern streets by designing buildings which they have striven honestly and not without success to make at once beautiful and useful: though it is true that these buildings must of necessity be more or less imitative of the work of past ages; and also that the movement that has had its rise in the study of historic art has borne with it the disadvantage that the public looks with favor on the preposterous attempt to "restore," as it is called, our ancient monuments, which have suffered so much from the neglect and ignorance of the post-mediæval period, to their (supposed) original state; for though we may have learned history enough to cease to look upon our ancestors as a set of savages whose lives and deeds sprang from no visible causes in the past, and led to no consequence in the future, we have not yet grasped the knowledge that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these monuments of art sprang from the conditions of society amidst which they were produced; that the art of a people, as distinct from a few ingenious and gifted men living isolated from the people, must of necessity be an essential growth from the life of the epoch.

Indeed, it is because I have so thoroughly learned this lesson myself (as I think), that I must needs look upon the art and literature of these days as but matters by the way, and something without root or organic growth. I believe that they will flourish again, rising maybe from the scanty tradition left us, or maybe from a new birth,—which we now cannot so much as conceive of,—when a new society has been realized, the hope of which (as I deem), is the one bright spot in the century and is now growing clearer to us.

For even now at the bottom of the change above said in economics and politics, in literature and art, lies a great change in opinion, which has produced the visible new birth of Socialism; a new birth dimly foreshadowed at the time of the French revolution by the opinions and attempts of such men as Babeuf and the Utopists. This public opinion points toward a new society founded on equality of condition, and the association of equals. The first of these has been mainly in abeyance since the time of the poverty of tribal society: the second, after playing a principal part in the development of society from the beginning of the great energy of the Middle Ages, fell with them under the triple attack of bureaucracy, political nationalism, and the lust for material advancement. But, unless they are once again to become the root principles of a true society, I for my part can see nothing for it but a continuous degradation of our false society until it disappears in a chaos caused by greed and suffering.

But I repeat that the assertion of these principles is already being made, not merely by small knots of Socialist preachers, but by the working-classes generally. Trades Unionism is losing its old narrowness, and is learning that it must not champion this or that trade or occupation against the general public; that it must no longer be the carpenters against the public, or the miners against the public,—but the whole body of producers against the non-producers who exploit them; that, in short, the producers must claim the right to manage their own affairs. When this lesson is learned thoroughly, I cannot see how the claim can be resisted; and that more especially in a country like Great Britain, the very existence of which depends upon highly organized industries.

Meantime, I say, the lesson is being learned, doubtless in a rough

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and unsystematic way enough; yet no one who is conversant with working-class politics can dispute that the attitude of the workmen toward Socialism has quite altered within the last twelve years, and that a claim for a recognition as citizens has been put forward by them, to which all classes of society have been forced to pay some attention. Both the theory and practice of even *ultra* Liberals as to the relation of the workmen of the organized industries in Great Britain to their employers, in the days when John Bright was regarded by the prosperous middle class as a dangerous democrat and tribune of the people, was that the workman, as workman, was a part of the machinery of profitable production, that there were certain laws of nature that governed the action of the machine,—always in the interest of those who owned and controlled it, the successful middle class to wit,—and that the members of the machine must submit patiently to any suffering which resulted from the action of those natural laws. There was little for the workmen to complain of in this, it was thought, because it was not difficult for any of them who were above the average to rise at least into the lower middle class, and most probably into the higher ranks of it; to become in short from a mere "hand" a foreman, the manager of a department, or often enough of a factory itself. As for what was below the average that was *its* lookout, and its complaints would not do anything to turn the course of the "natural law." This, I say, was the theory or practice of such men as John Bright and his party; but the machine for the production of profits has protested against the action of the natural law—which must of necessity degrade every man who could not struggle up into the comparatively few places which were to be had amongst the superintendents of labor,—and by various revolts, strikes and so forth, the claim of citizenship has, as aforesaid, been made by workingmen as *living on weekly wages*, and not as workingmen whose savings gave them some share in the privilege of capital.

For a long time the struggle was blind and narrow, but within the last few years it has become a conscious strife for at least some recognition of the social rights of citizens on behalf of *all* workmen willing to exercise their labor power; and, on the other hand, the possessing classes have practically admitted the necessity of a "living wage" for the workmen, even though that must be taken from the profits of the employers. A higher standard of comfort, more leisure, less precarious employment; these things at least, it is admitted, must be granted by the present system to the working-classes,—if the present system

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can do it—but can it? The answer to that must be found in the answer to another question: Are the interests of the employers and employed the same? No, must be the answer, they are opposed. And if that be the case, how can the vital questions be discussed and settled with the mutual assent of the two parties to the quarrel? It is clear that they cannot be. When I mentioned the *struggle* of the working classes for citizenship I meant to use the word literally and not metaphorically. The battle must be fought out between the privileged and the useful classes, before the latter can win any solid or lasting benefits for the whole mass. And I have no doubt that it will go on with ever-increasing stress. The concessions made by the privileged classes to the useful ones will grow greater and more important, as the working-men see clearer into their position, and know what it is essential for them to claim; the privileged will concede these with much the same amount of pressure as forces them to yield to present and unimportant demands, some of which at any rate are now used for little else than banners to which to rally those who are yet purblind to the necessities of a real new society. So it will go on till it will be found at last that everything essential has been yielded by privilege, and probably the last opposition will be feeble and formal, and will be easily thrust aside.

It must be remembered that, on the one hand, the tokens that this great change in society is on the way are no longer merely the spread of academic discussion, or the setting forth of Utopias with their roots in the air, but the attempts to deal with "practical" questions concerning the present daily life of the greater part of the population; while, on the other hand, the ideas of a Socialist society are pretty much accepted by those who can by any stretch of language be called thinking people (among whom I do not include the professional politicians). Almost the only opposition offered to them comes from sheer pessimists, or those who are not ashamed to confess their adherence to the sordid cynicism of greed. How can the new society founded on equality and association be brought about? is the real question which is asked by all those who wish for conditions of life in the civilized world which will enable all groups of society to live with self-respect and manly pleasure.

Now I have practically said that, broadly speaking, the change must come about by the useful classes getting gradually educated to a sense of their due claims and responsibilities, and, as a result, going on steadily beating down commercial and economic privilege, as their fore-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

runners the Whigs, whose day culminated in the French revolution, beat down the survivals of feudal privilege.

As to what is going on obviously at present in the world of politics, a few words will be enough on that subject, as I cannot deem it to be of so much importance as many people think. We have recently gone through a general election in Great Britain, the results of which have made the grossest reactionists (the Tories) jubilant, and I suspect have given some pleasure, even amidst their defeat, to the ordinary Liberal politicians.

The overwhelming Tory victory has indeed seemed to some of our party to mean rather a defeat of the Whigs than of the Progressives; but, though this seems plausible in view of some of the incidents of the contest, I should rather put down the victory to a strong rally of all that is reactionary against everything which seems progressive to the reactionists, from mere Whig Liberalism to definite Socialism,—which rally, if properly organized, was sure to be successful: so that it was rather the Liberals who were defeated along with the Socialists than the Socialists along with the Liberals. In other words there was, and is, an instinct amongst the reactionaries that the Socialists have been leading the Liberals and are the real enemies, and it is a true instinct, though politics, like poverty, makes strange bedfellows, and it is rather amusing to see some of our Whig friends dismissed from their seats on the ground of their being the allies of dangerous revolutionaries.

For the rest it was clear that whenever the reactionaries chose to administer such a check to Socialism they could do so with certainty of success, since there is no Socialist party in England; it has indeed ceased to be merely a sect or a "church" as it was some fifteen years ago, but has never gained any organization; its strength, as well as its weakness, lies in its being an *opinion* rather than a party. Yet it was largely the fear of the reactionists that it was becoming a party which caused the successful attack of the election on progress generally. And to my mind the answer to that attack should be to organize a real definite Socialist party, and, for the sake of the necessary gain, to accept the probable dangers of such a position. It is true that a wide-spread opinion cannot be defeated, and need not fear the temporary decision of the ballot-box; but to such a decision it must come at last, unless it is contented to act indirectly through other parties, which may throw it over at any political exigency, and must always be doing hesitatingly and blindly.

To sum up therefore as to the Socialist outlook: There is no pro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gress possible to European civilization save in the direction of Socialism; for the Whig or Individualist idea which destroyed the mediæval idea of association, and culminated in the French revolution and the rise of the great industries in England, has fulfilled its function or worked itself out.

The Socialistic idea has at last taken hold of the workmen, even in Great Britain, and they are pushing it forward practically, though in a vague and unorganized manner.

The governing classes feel themselves compelled to yield more or less to the vague demands of the workmen. But, on the other hand, the definitely reactionary forces of the country have woken up to the danger to privilege involved in those demands, and are attacking Socialism in front instead of passing it by in contemptuous silence.

The general idea of Socialism is widely accepted amongst the thoughtful part of the middle classes, even where their timidity prevents them from definitely joining the movement.

The old political parties have lost their traditional shibboleths, and are only hanging on till the new party (which can *only* be a Socialist one) is formed: the Whigs and Tories will then coalesce to oppose it; the Radicals will some of them join this reactionary party, and some will be absorbed by the Socialist ranks. That this process is already going on is shown by the last general election. Socialism has not yet formed a party in Great Britain, but it is essential that it should do so, and not become a mere tail of the Whig Liberal party, which will only use it for its own purposes and throw it over when it conveniently can.

This Socialist party must include the whole of the genuine labor movement, that is, whatever in it is founded on principle, and is not a mere temporary business squabble; it must also include all that is definitely Socialist amongst the middle class; and it must have a simple test in accordance with its one aim,—the realization of a new society founded on the practical equality of condition for all, and general association for the satisfaction of the needs of those equals.

The sooner this party is formed, and the reactionists find themselves face to face with the Socialists, the better. For whatever checks it may meet with on the way, it will get to its goal at last and *Socialism* will melt into *society*.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FRANCIS JOSEPH AND HIS REALM.

It is a matter of universal knowledge that our monarch is beloved and respected by his subjects, and that a sympathy both just and profound is extended to him from far beyond the limits of his own realm. This was not always so. There was a time when Francis Joseph had many opponents at home, and when public opinion in foreign countries was unfavorably disposed toward him. The severity with which the rebellion in Vienna, and more particularly those in Italy and Hungary, were suppressed after the year 1848, was attributed to him; and the defeats which attended the Austrian army throughout two wars, the errors of its administration, and the low status of the national credit, were ascribed to an unsuccessful system of government whose capabilities, though perhaps not its good intentions, were doubted by many. To-day all this is different. The change to a constitutional form of government brought out many valuable characteristics of the Emperor which had until then been concealed in the darkness of the cabinet system, and were known only to those who stood close to him. It is now conceded that without the conscientious, unflagging, and faithful devotion to duty on the part of the sovereign,—even while subjected to the severest blows of fate,—the revival of the monarchy could hardly have been effected.

To-day the monarchy has regained more than its former political, economic, and military credit, while it occupies a respected position among the great European Powers. For, by the constitution of Austria, the Emperor does not occupy a position similar to that of the Queen of England, in which the entire responsibility of the affairs of state is borne by parliament and the privy council. The personal government of the Austrian ruler, above and beyond the parliamentary representative bodies, has much wider scope: "*L'Empereur-roi régne, et il gouverne.*" Thus much depends upon the Emperor's personal characteristics. A study of the head of the state is therefore inconceivable without a historical glance at recent political developments as well as a careful consideration of the people.

Francis Joseph's rule began in the year of the revolution, 1848,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when Metternich's rotten supports for Austria suddenly gave way. Revolt, inspired by the idea of national unity, broke out in Lombardy and Venice. In Hungary, where the ancient feudal constitution had been rescued from Austrian absolutism, a Liberal opposition urged complete independence of Vienna and a modern constitution. In the capital of the realm, at the seat of government, there was a general desire that the people should share in legislation and in the long-wished-for freedom of the citizen. In Bohemia, the Slavs murmured against German rule, and the Poles, who had rebelled two years before and were experienced in revolutionary movements, played the part of mentor. The revolt was universal; everywhere the people armed themselves against the authorities; they extorted the dismissal of Metternich, and wrested various concessions from the weak government of the weaker-minded Ferdinand I. After the Landtag had abolished the jurisdiction of the nobles and their exemption from taxation, and also the subjection of the peasants, a responsible ministry was granted to Hungary, while the franchise in the parliament of Pesth was confined to a small number of deputies. A constitutional parliament, granted to the German Slavs, met soon after in Vienna, and at once, though not without violence, abolished the socage service of the peasants, with compensation to the landowners. In Italy, the Sardinians had espoused the cause of the rebels, and entangled Austria in a war. In Vienna, as the result of leaving the direction of the revolution to immature political elements—the students of the University and schools,—mob violence ensued, through which the minister of war, Count Latour, lost his life. In Pesth, where Kossuth continued to urge a complete separation from Austria, the mob lynched the royal governor. In Prague, the Princess Windischgrätz was shot by a fanatic. This state of anarchy was, however, controlled by military force: Radetzky was victorious in Italy, Prague soon quieted, and Vienna besieged and occupied. In Hungary alone was the revolution able, in a war of alternating successes, to effect a more lasting opposition.

Under the influence of this environment the young Archduke Francis Joseph (born August 18, 1830) attained his eighteenth year, and according to Austrian law his majority. He had every prospect of ascending the throne, since his uncle, the Emperor, was childless, and his father, the Archduke Francis Charles, though good-hearted, possessed too little decision of character. His clever and energetic mother, the Archduchess Sophia, was full of reactionary ideas, and,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with a keen appreciation of his prospects, she caused her first-born, who inherited her many talents and steadiness of nerve, to be carefully educated. His clear and practical understanding, prudent judgment, remarkable memory, sound sense of duty, and pre-eminent talent for languages, were an inestimable aid to his teachers, among whom Lichtenfels, a distinguished advocate, and Hauslab, an intelligent and accomplished officer, laid a thorough foundation for a legal and military education. In the spring of 1848 it was intended that the archduke should become Viceroy of Bohemia: this, however, was not realized, and he joined Radetzky in Italy, where, as later in the Hungarian campaigns, he was distinguished for valor. In the autumn, when the court fled to Olmütz to escape the mob at Vienna, he accompanied his parents thither, and there the change of sovereigns was seriously considered. The Emperor Ferdinand, having been forced to make various concessions and promises to the revolutionary party, resigned, in order to give his successor full freedom of action. On December 2, 1848, Ferdinand I abdicated, Francis Charles withdrew his claims, and the young archduke became Emperor of Austria.

The young Emperor's rule was not at first independent, for he was largely under the immediate influence of his mother and of Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, who, as president of the cabinet, directed affairs of state, and, as the revolutionary movement subsided, strove to establish absolutism. The central parliament, with the exception of the Hungarian branch, was dissolved; the problem of nationalities, with its federalistic tendencies, had become more prominent, while the intention of the government was to oppose with all its power any leaning toward centrifugal nationalism. A manifesto issued by the young Emperor, whose motto was "viribus unitis," declared this to be his aim—"in harmony with the people, to consolidate all the countries and races of the monarchy into one great state-body." A chartered, centralized constitution was announced on May 4, 1849, but it existed only on paper; for December 31, 1851, saw it abolished, while a rigid system of absolutism was established in its place. The Hungarian insurrection was at last put down, although only with the assistance of a Russian army. In most of the other provinces the people, tired of political agitation, and aided by the predominant conservative element, demanded a vigorous administration. The Emperor, himself a thorough soldier, entertained a martial inclination which rendered him at the time unpopular, since the victory of the army had brought much soldierly insolence and brutality in its train. It became, in fact, necessary to put down

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that "hyena of Brescia" as Marshal Haynau was called because of his despotism. The Emperor's invariable military dress angered the people, and his unpopularity was intensified by the insolent behavior of his adjutant-general, Count Grünne, to whom an all-powerful influence was attributed. Only in 1853, on the occasion of an attempt on his life by a Hungarian fanatic, was a sympathetic disposition manifested among the hitherto discontented factions, and when, in the following year, he brought home as his wife the beautiful Elizabeth of Bavaria, then in her sixteenth year, the expression of joyful sympathy became universal.

It was surely, then, an injustice to say that the Emperor chose an absolute and military form of government purely from preference or inclination. No. It was his conviction that the state, convulsed by the efforts for freedom, could be restored and strengthened only by the predominance of those elements—the army and the church—which had rendered those efforts futile; and, this necessity of the state once acknowledged, his duty as ruler was to aid in its realization. He retained the management of military affairs, and in 1855 concluded a concordat with the Pope by which the superintendence of schools and much inconvenient influence upon family life were given to the priests. This system—based on sword and cross, and supported by a pliant bureaucracy which prevailed in Austria between 1850 and 1859—proved not only a failure but a positive injury; yet it was not an indication of unconditional reaction. The prize for which the revolutionary party had fought—equality of the citizen before the law—was retained, while the socage service of the peasants remained abolished, to the annoyance of the landed aristocracy. The free exercise of religion was continued alike to Protestants, Hebrews, and every other religious association recognized by the state. A law recognized—although only academically, since it was never enforced—the right of communities to attend to their own interests. In the higher courts the administration of justice was freed from undue governmental interference; the patriarchal jurisdiction of the landed proprietor no longer existed. The state issued from its intellectual and economical seclusion to introduce—in imitation of the German system—a greater liberty of learning for both pupil and teacher, together with increased freedom of the students. With exemplary promptitude the high schools were reformed, and the "Chinese wall," which previous to 1848 hindered literary contact with foreign countries, was torn down. Guilds were abolished, and a greater freedom of industries established. Between Hungary and the western

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countries the tariff barriers were removed: the prohibitive system was cast aside, thus permitting an easier entrance, by means of commercial treaties, into the trade of the world.

This great progress was made through the energetic co-operation of the sovereign. Francis Joseph had become more self-reliant since the death of Prince Schwarzenberg in 1852, and he now became wholly devoted to the public interest. Youthful pleasures were not permitted to interfere with duty. Though fond of society, and celebrated as an excellent dancer, he never detracted from the dignity of his position. The *grand seigneur* was not a mask to be assumed or cast off at will; it was a part of himself. Devoted as he was and still is to the chase, he was never known to indulge his inclinations in this direction at the expense of duty. Diplomats who saw him in the *salons* of the Viennese aristocracy praised his "intuitive tact," and those who judge him to-day must acknowledge the sensitive discrimination which has manifested itself through the years in multifarious ways. Those determined traits of character which are the added structure of an earlier foundation are verified to-day by the same unbiassed witnesses. The Saxon ambassador, Count Vitzthum, wrote in the beginning of 1851:

"The positive contempt for catching at popularity, the taciturnity, can only be complained of by the ambitious: the intuitive acuteness; prodigious memory for names, places, and people; the lively sense of duty, almost amounting to a painful conscientiousness; the chivalry and generosity of character,—are virtues which fully justify the highest expectations."

In 1859 Francis Joseph encountered his first great disappointment. The foreign policy of the country had been unfortunately conducted: Schwarzenberg's design to unite the German Confederation with Austria in a single realm of sixty millions of people, with an assumption of the chief rôle by the imperial government, had resulted in the complete estrangement of Prussia and of those whose wish it was to have a younger and more vigorous German Empire. The German princes refused to support Austria, with its accompaniment of Hungarian and Polish interests. After the end of the war which followed, Austria had expended immense sums on a fruitless armed neutrality, her ranks were decimated by sickness, and all prestige had been swept away through isolation. This condition was regarded by Sardinia and France as advantageous for an attack on Austria. Francis Joseph, with unfaltering faith in the capability of his army, prepared somewhat precipitately to meet the declaration of hostilities, but the war of 1859 showed him that he had been deceived. After the first battle had been lost through

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inferior generalship, he assumed the position of commander-in-chief. When he saw the unfortunate condition of affairs (the assistance of Prussia and the German Confederation again failing), he determined to accept the peace proffered by Napoleon III, and to sacrifice Lombardy.

To relinquish absolutism had become an inexorable necessity of state, as Francis Joseph was not slow to perceive; and, difficult as it may have been, he sacrificed his personal inclinations to accomplish what appeared to be a duty. Having assumed his position as a "constitutional monarch," he knew how to make the fact manifest. His first speech from the throne was replete with pathos and a demonstrative amiability toward the deputies. But he was treading new ground of whose dangers he was ignorant. Numerous opposing interests sprang up whose expression had hitherto been suppressed by force. Unlike France or Italy, where various national aspirations interfere with those socialistic groups which have been added of late years, Austria is not a land whose interior politics sway in a line from right to left. In 1860, when Austria became a constitutional monarchy, three principal factors waxed confident—since the embarrassments entailed by the last war had to be considered: the Hungarians, who emphasized the duality of the ancient Hapsburg realm, and who wished for a renewal of their constitution of 1848; the Slavs, who formed the majority of the inhabitants in the larger Crown Lands (Bohemia, Galicia, Moravia, and Carniola), and therefore wished the political power transferred to the various national diets; and the progressive Germans, who in most of these lands, cultivated by their industry, desired centralization in order to escape being overpowered. Furthermore, the question of predominant power in Germany was yet unsettled, and the Italians in Venice and southern Tyrol ardently desired their independence from Austria.

To win over Hungary, Francis Joseph first attempted federal methods, and issued letters patent on October 20, 1860, whereby the central Reichsrath should control only the legislation of general affairs, the granting of new taxes and loans, and the examination of the budget; the diets of the different countries to control other matters as heretofore. At that time the prime minister was the Pole, Goluchowski, father of the present minister of foreign affairs. The Hungarians, however, were dissatisfied, and the German Liberals also feared a renewal of the old assembly as controlled by the nobility. To satisfy the latter a centralized constitution was introduced, February 26, 1861, which included the Hungarians in an enlarged council of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state. It was intended that Schmerling, the new minister, should oppose them. But the effort miscarried, as Poles and Czechs, dissatisfied with centralization, supported him, while the Germans caviled at the half-hearted liberalism of the cabinet till it fell. A circumstance which largely contributed to the overthrow of Schmerling was the attempt on the part of Francis Joseph to arrange the German question in a congress of princes which he had summoned to meet at Frankfurt in the summer of 1863, but which was rendered abortive by the absence of the King of Prussia. The futility of the step urged the non-Germanic races to make advances until the German question was definitely settled, which, however, was only possible by a conflict between the two great German Powers.

The result of the war of 1866 is well known. Notwithstanding the victories at Custozza and Lissa in the Bohemian campaign, Austria lost position and prestige in Germany and Italy. How this additional defeat must have grieved the grandson of Francis II, who had also worn the imperial crown! How painfully the rout of the armies must have touched his sense of military honor! It is said that he wept on hearing the fate of his northern army at Königgrätz. Austria was now even more deserted by all the world than in 1859: her comprehensive plans were frustrated, she was deeply in debt, and was shaken internally by constitutional struggles and unsettled conflicts.

As the result of Schmerling's fall in 1865 the Emperor abolished the much-attacked constitution, and lent an ear to strictly conservative advisers, particularly to Count Moritz Esterhazy, to whose hatred of the Prussians many errors of the following year can be ascribed. The negotiations with Hungary—which had been resumed only to be again interrupted by the war—once more demanded attention. To avoid giving preference to any one party the Emperor dismissed the feudal ministry of Balcredi, and called upon the Saxon minister, Count Beust, to become prime minister, and to adjust the confusion. Quick of decision, the new minister at once tranquilized the Hungarians, who had maintained that so long as Austria formed a part of the German Confederation, it was impossible for them to enter into closer relations with the monarchy, since foreign interests might force them into war. This obstacle was now removed. Francis Joseph granted the Hungarians the old constitution of 1848, with a parliament and ministry of their own. Advised by their excellent statesman, Francis Déak, the Hungarians consented that foreign affairs, war, and common expenditure should be controlled by delegates from the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

parliaments of the two divisions of the realm, under whom the three imperial ministerial offices common to both—war, finance, and foreign affairs—were placed. Hungary also concluded a commercial agreement with Austria, renewable every ten years, and the division of expenses was settled. The realm known since 1804 as the "Austrian Empire" now became the "Austro-Hungarian Monarchy"; the monarch receiving the title of "Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary." Unwilling openly to admit the reduction of older Austria by one half, he objected to the separation of titles into Austria and Hungary; and hence he was solemnly crowned at Pesth, June 18, 1868, swearing allegiance to the constitution.

The system of centralization was finally abandoned, and dualism formed the basis of the constitutional monarchy. Thus peace was restored to one half of the realm. It is true there exists to-day, as formerly, an Independent Magyar party which strives for mere personal union, and honors the exiled Kossuth as its intellectual head; but this faction has never been strong enough to disturb the peace. The Hungarian Slavs were outnumbered by the predominant Liberal party in the parliament, and, following a compromise with Croatia, were included in the Hungarian kingdom.

The Emperor appointed a German Liberal "burger-ministry," which, by equitable laws for the public schools, substantially advanced higher culture in the state and greatly weakened the overpowering influence of the Catholic Church. That church had resolutely opposed the school laws; and it became necessary to nullify the concordat with Rome, rendered peculiarly opportune by the declaration of the infallibility of the Pope in 1870. The position assumed by the Emperor in this affair deserves the higher praise, because the Clerical party—which finds its most faithful adherents among the Austrian aristocracy and at court—spared no intrigues, lies, or insinuations to restrain the pious monarch from sanctioning the new laws,—a spectacle repeated when, in 1895, Hungary introduced a law for civil marriage and the civil registration of baptisms, marriages, and deaths. But, notwithstanding his conservative disposition and his disapproval of the "burger-ministry," and in spite also of the imprecations of Pius IX,—which were a severe trial to his religious convictions,—Francis Joseph remained firm. He also deemed it expedient to give his son Rudolph an education in accordance with modern views, to which, later, the tragical end of this prince in 1889 was attributed.

The "burger-ministry" fell, owing to the strength of the Slavic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposition, and because the Emperor by no means desired to repel the Slavic element. The reasons controlling the Emperor are shown by the prime minister, Hasner, in his memoirs, where he states that the Emperor thought it was easier to regulate the church questions with the Slavs than with the liberal-minded Germans, and furthermore, so late as the 'sixties, Francis Joseph desired a substitute—possible only among the eastern Slavs—for the lost Italian provinces. Hence it was necessary to induce the remaining Slavic divisions of the monarchy to accept a favorable view of the situation. This was difficult. To satisfy the Czechs, a federal constitution must be introduced by which relations with Austria—as yet hardly touched upon—would be regulated. The Magyars, who dominated the Slavs living in the kingdom, observed with reluctance the growth of the Slavic influence in Vienna, and—as they represented in the monarchy a political half of the dualism—by no means wished to see it reduced to a third. Hence the attempts of the Hohenwart ministry in 1871 to meet the federalizing intention of the Czechs were soon shattered, owing to the resistance of the Hungarian government, of which Count Andrassy was then the head. The minister, Count Beust, had suggested doubts about the foreign policy, to which the Emperor was not indifferent. Ignatieff had shown the Czar, Alexander II, how far such loosely aggregated elements as composed Austria would favor Russian interests. Francis Joseph permitted the fall of the Conservative federal cabinet of Hohenwart, and again appointed a Liberal constitutional ministry under Prince Adolf Auersperg, with whom he maintained the friendliest relations. He dismissed Beust, whose reasons against the federal tendency had been too tardily developed.

The new cabinet remained in office until 1879. A new regulation of the elections of 1873, which elected the Vienna Parliament by direct votes, instead of, as formerly, by deputies sent from the diets, ended the conflict over the constitution and secured a majority to the ministry in spite of the non-participation of the Czechs. This position was maintained until weakened through the desertion of the constitutional party. This last event is connected with a matter which demonstrates with peculiar clearness the weight of the personal element in the constitutional monarchy of Austria. After 1866 the Emperor's sentiments, although suppressed, were bitter against Prussia, notwithstanding the mutually amicable relations arranged by Count Andrassy (appointed in Beust's place) which were indicated by the journey to Berlin in 1872. In the same spirit the Emperor relinquished hostilities

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against Italy, and in 1875 decided on a journey to Venice, which with consummate tact he chose as the city pre-eminently fitted to convince King Victor Emanuel of his own pacific intentions. His one thought —to find elsewhere a substitute for the lost Italian territories—had now assumed definite form. From Venice Francis Joseph journeyed to Dalmatia, where he continued several weeks. It is uncertain whether the question of the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina was under discussion here,—perhaps it was mentioned in the personal interview held with the military governor, Rodich, and the confidential adjutant-general, Beck. For Dalmatia—an altogether too uncertain possession since the loss of the Upper Adriatic Italian coast—needed some territory to connect and hold it in accord with the monarchy. Three years later this favorite plan, initiated by the Emperor, was legalized by the mandate of the Berlin Congress. But an unexpected obstacle arose. The predominating party of the Vienna Reichsrath, the German Liberals, from whose ranks was formed the Auersperg cabinet, maintaining that the Slav element in the monarchy should not be strengthened, opposed the policy of occupation. A minority only were statesmen enough to avoid creating trouble for the monarchy in regard to European questions. As the result proved, the Berlin treaty was carried through the Vienna Reichsrath only by the aid of the Slavs and Clericals. Thus was the German Liberal cabinet overthrown, and the adherents of states-unity and progress continued for many years to be without a share in the government.

Francis Joseph now entrusted the government to the tried friend of his youth, Count Taaffe, a former member of the "burger-ministry," who, evidently in response to the personal wishes of the monarch, by certain promises persuaded the feudal-clerical landed proprietors of Bohemia and the Czechs (still absent from the Reichsrath) to enter parliament and combine with the German Clericals, the Poles, and the southern Slavs in forming a Conservative majority. The Czechs, it is true, entered under protest, not renouncing on principle a change of the constitution in a federal sense, but hoping temporarily to attain their purpose by means of the government—namely, to become the ruling power in the three nations of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, which formerly constituted the kingdom of Bohemia, and to dominate the German element, as the Magyars had ruled over the Slavs in Hungary and the Poles over the Ruthenians. To this end they found support in the government, which in April, 1880, issued a decree compelling officials and judges in the discharge of their public duties to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be familiar with both the Bohemian and Moravian languages. This measure, and like concessions granted the Clericals and Slavs, incited the Liberal Germans to vigorous opposition, which the Emperor in vexation called "mutinous," although this was not the case. As the elections of 1885 strengthened the majority, as the national concessions to the Slavs were continued at the expense of the German element, and as, in January, 1889, the tragical death of the Liberal Crown Prince (who was favorably disposed toward the Germans) robbed them of one of their most valued hopes, more than a hundred of the Liberal Germans—the "Vereinigten Deutschen Linken"—considered the expediency of withdrawing from the Reichsrath. This displeased the Emperor, since it did not accord with his conception of the co-operation of all the state forces—"viribus unitis." He saw not only the danger of the national quarrel being communicated to the army, but a menace to its German administration and the Teutonic language of military command. Finally it seemed irrational to join Austria in a triple alliance with the German Empire and Italy, since this would deprive it of the combined German and Italian parliamentary support—a deprivation which had already been threatened by the southern Slavs. The Emperor ordered Count Taaffe to bring the Germans and Czechs into accord in Bohemia, and to arrest further action against the "Left." In 1890 a compromise in Bohemia was effected, though the Czechs again demanded a change in the constitution and the establishment of a special Bohemian autonomy. This party attained the ascendency, the elections for the Reichsrath in 1891 brought its adherents into parliament, overthrew the majority of the Conservative government, and the national quarrel gained new strength. Moreover the Social Democrats among the laboring classes urgently demanded legislative participation.[1]

Universal suffrage has not yet been introduced into Austria. The three hundred and fifty-three deputies in the Vienna Reichsrath are elected from among the landed proprietors and the Chamber of Commerce: in the cities and rural communities the voters, since 1882, have been subjected to a tax of five guldens. To act for the interests of the laboring classes, the Liberal Germans in 1886 proposed to create a Chamber of Labor, from which deputies should be sent to parliament, —a measure opposed by Count Taaffe and the "Right." In 1893, however, the suffrage was extended, the Emperor consented to admit

[1] This by no means implies, however, that the laboring classes in Austria are, as a whole, organized on social-democratic principles: in point of fact only about one fourth of them are so organized.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the workman to share in the legislative power, and this Count Taaffe was to effectuate. His procedure was peculiar. He proposed an amendment to the suffrage which safeguarded the conservative interests of the landed proprietors and of the Chamber of Commerce intact, but introduced among the cities and the rural communities an almost universal suffrage, which in many districts would surely have displaced the existing deputies by others of the socialistic party. His intention, supported by this party as a solid and subservient government majority, was to force the national question, by means of the socialistic question, into the background, and thus make secure all the conservative parliamentary elements now threatened by a socialistic opposition. This design, however, incurred the opposition of the three great parliamentary parties. The German Liberal representatives combined with the Conservative deputies and the Polish National Unionists to effect the fall of the Taaffe cabinet. The Emperor worded the Count's dismissal in terms of great kindness, while he appointed as ministers, under Prince Windischgrätz, members of the three parties unified by the coalition. From the impossibility of arresting the national dispute for even so short a period, this system was broken down eighteen months later.

Under the administration of Count Taaffe the mutual aversions of the nationalities gathered strength until the truce resolved upon by the Slavs was dissolved, and the founding of a Slovenian high school in the Teutonic city of Cilli was enough to determine the German deputies to withdraw from the mutual coalition, which, moreover, was seriously threatened by a Czechic and anti-Semitic opposition. While these unceasing conflicts held sway between Germans and Czechs, Germans and Slovenes, Liberal Germans and Conservative Germans, two nations were gaining an advantage: the Hungarians on the one side and the Poles on this side of the river Leitha. Hungary, whose parliament is controlled by a strong Liberal majority which has been in power since 1868, is well-nigh exempt from national struggles, and is rapidly progressing in liberal culture and development. On the other hand, the Poles have attained a substantial political recognition, the result of skilful action and a just estimate both of their parliamentary power and the turning of every favorable opportunity to their own advantage. Although they comprise both Clerical and Liberal elements, in parliament they have been a united national party, and have obtained an undisputed autonomy for their country, together with many financial and social benefits for their people.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since the accentuation of the tension between Russia and the Triple Alliance in the 'eighties, and the distribution of a large part of the Czar's army along the western provinces, the frontier of Galicia has assumed an unwonted importance in Austrian politics, necessitating a military strength corresponding to the Russian distribution. It became a serious undertaking for the Galician administration to provide for these immense bodies of troops in a land so thinly settled, and to-day it is easy to see, in the imperial confidence enjoyed by Count Badeni as prime minister, the result of his unremitting care for this army. Forced, as Austria was, to increase its power of defence by a reserve, it was foreseen that in the event of war by this new system the Galicians would be affected, but, in spite of this, the change was accepted by the Poles. Moreover, in the event of war with Russia, the sentiments of the Ruthenian populace must be taken into account; for their sympathies, urged by hatred of the Poles who practically governed them, had until recently inclined strongly toward their Russian kindred. It is said that some of the Ruthenian clergy had even incited a strong Russian sentiment among the peasantry. It now became important to conciliate this antagonism, and to find a *modus vivendi.* This was accomplished by the discreet policy of the Poles in the Galician Diet, acting in co-operation with the "young Ruthenian party," which, with the multiplication of its numbers and importance, favored an agreement with the Poles. As monarch and commander-in-chief of the army, Francis Joseph appreciates and recognizes the services rendered to the state, and he loses no opportunity to express these sentiments to the Poles. Who can deem it remarkable that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has to-day a Polish minister of foreign affairs, or that, in one of the two divisions of the empire, the premier and the ministers of the interior and finance are also Poles? One may see herein an argument for the strength of the monarchical element in Austria. This authority has intensified the continual contention of national parties, none of which has a majority in the Reichsrath, and whose differentiation becomes constantly more accentuated. To-day there exist three Czechic, two Slovenic, two Liberal German, one Clerical German, one Christian Social German, and two Italian factions in the Reichsrath. Each one appeals to the sovereign, whose prestige has thus become so powerful that the last change of ministry was effected without the formal co-operation of the House of Deputies.

Such being the situation, the state is fortunate in possessing a sov-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ereign like Francis Joseph, who rules with impartiality, serving the dual interests of state and dynasty which he rightly considers as the mightiest links wherewith to hold the monarchy together. This quality has given the Emperor, especially since the death of the Crown Prince in 1889, universal popularity and respect. Moreover, it is the common opinion that this impartiality and severe subordination of personal inclination to the general welfare cannot be expected to a similar degree in the heir presumptive. Primarily, by his devotion to duty, the Emperor is entitled to the consideration he receives. The former prime minister, Hasner, in his memoirs, has without exaggeration described the sovereign as "the most industrious man in the realm." Bismarck, with every other diplomatist who has had relations with him, confirms this statement. Alike in summer and winter the Emperor rises early, and by five o'clock he is occupied at his standing desk. He examines all proposals laid before him, particularly such as relate to military or foreign affairs (the latter department he has himself directed since the withdrawal of Andrassy in 1879), and matters concerned with royal favors and pardons as well as the persons and property of members of the imperial family. He submits every detail to a careful consideration. Military manœuvres or travel make no difference to the Emperor, who has frequently, while on hunting-trips, attended to official business. Frequently the frugal mid-day repast is served to the Emperor at his desk. With astonishing accuracy he examines every subject—more particularly matters relating to important legislative designs—laid before him by the ministry. The former minister of justice, Glaser, mentions the fact that the Emperor in 1872 called his attention to a couple of contradictory statements in the draft of an extensive penal code, which had escaped the practised eye of the lawyer, and which the Emperor himself corrected. Likewise the Emperor, before permitting the introduction of ecclesiastical laws, subjects them to a severe scrutiny, after which his decision is unalterable. Actuated by a similar conscientiousness, he maturely reflected upon the proposition of Archduke Albrecht to continue the war against Prussia in 1866, before rejecting it. His knowledge of affairs, supported by a most tenacious memory, exacts a similar competent knowledge of his council in the several departments. It is related by a certain minister that, an insignificant subject coming before the council, the Emperor alone among his ministers recalled its previous treatment, a fact proved by referring to the protocols.

As the Emperor never forgets a person whom he has once seen or

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spoken to, presentations are very seldom necessary—as, for instance, on the occasion of large receptions of the representative body, at great court festivals, exhibitions, etc. Those who converse with him on such occasions are impressed by his great personal affability, which loosens the most embarrassed tongue. His patience and perseverance are as astonishing as his faculty of readily saying something to each individual. The address to the Emperor by Baron Chlumecky, president of the Reichsrath, in the name of the Vienna Parliament, giving expression to their united admiration of the sovereign's unparalleled devotion to a multiplicity of difficult duties, was no empty ovation. Francis Joseph likes to be addressed frankly in short pregnant sentences. At the time of the Schmerling ministry he reproached the Hungarian archbishop, later Cardinal Haynald, for his discreditable behavior, observing that it was only a step removed from treason. "Very true, Sire," replied the quick-witted ecclesiastical prince, "but I shall never take that step." He won his cause by this remark. From the state functionaries who come into direct contact with him servility pleases him as little as a want of refinement. Negative characters are highly repugnant to him. He is most particular in every relation with his advisers, and demands from them a similar conduct. However freely he allows the minute discussion of affairs appertaining to business, criticism of the department of another is strictly forbidden. Directly a functionary—be his influence what it may—leaves office, discussion of departmental affairs ceases, since the Emperor would consider any other procedure an injustice to the newly-elected adviser.

This delicate perception of upright conduct is noticeable in the Emperor's every transaction. The publicist Orges, arriving in Vienna in 1860 on a special mission from Berlin, informed the Emperor that the higher Prussian circles greatly distrusted Austrian policy, and, in the event of an attack on the Rhine, were fearful of an invasion of Austrian troops into Silesia. Orges reports: "His Majesty's face flushed, while with the liveliest emotion he replied, 'How can people believe such infamous things of me!'" Five years later, on the abolition of the constitution, a newspaper article spoke of the mandate of Charles X,—a comparison which deeply hurt the Emperor, who exclaimed in exasperation, "I am not a Charles X." After all this it were folly to talk of an influential court party at Vienna. Court and Emperor are separate and distinct. Thoroughly conscious of the elevation of his office and mission, Francis Joseph is fully aware that it must be publicly sustained, and the court, by its traditional eti-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quette, pomp, and ceremony, in which the Emperor performs his part with conscientious punctuality, serves him to this end. Otherwise he is most retired and unassuming. Satisfied with the simplest of food and clothing, appearing invariably in uniform, he leads a regular and temperate life, his healthy organization thus retaining its vigorous strength. His recreations, when affairs permit, are hunting, a hard ride in the morning air, or now and again a journey to his daughter, Marie Valerie, who lives in Upper Austria and to whose children he is a devoted grandfather. In former years he found recreation in the society of the bookbinder Groner, from whose freedom of speech he obtained a reflection of popular sentiment; and he would also visit the Burg theatre. Latterly it has been his habit to make occasional morning visits to the renowned actress Frau Von Kiss-Schratt, with whom both the Emperor and the Empress stand in friendly relation. Many interesting stories are told of the imperial family life, particularly of the time when the children were small; how the parents shared in their sports and prepared the Christmas tree. The unhappy end of the Crown Prince plunged the imperial pair into the profoundest grief, but they found in each other mutual comfort and support.

Mention must be made of the Emperor's extraordinary generosity to the poor and needy. Numberless careers have been saved by his quick and liberal beneficence; unknown to the public, enormous sums find their way to the poor from his private purse. This benevolence has appreciably increased since, by the death of his uncle Ferdinand in 1875, the Emperor inherited the great family fortune, the substantial foundations of which were laid in the last century by Francis I, the husband of Maria Theresa.

Such is the sovereign. And the realm? Its transition to modern forms of government, begun under the system of absolutism, has been too often interrupted by the disadvantages which were the result of that system, by violent crises, by the deplorable financial condition, calamitous wars, and, lastly, by the embittered constitutional struggles, until, after the defeats of 1866, the lowest point of Austria's European position was finally reached. Then it was that the speech from the throne contained the following words: "Let not the secret thought of retaliation guide our measures; but let a nobler intention animate us, that animosity and disaffection may be turned into respect and affection." Austria-Hungary has, with mutual benefit, remained faithful to this programme of peace. Guided by the Emperor, popular education on a more elevated plane has enriched the state with a new and abun-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dant strength. The army has been reorganized, and no sacrifice has been considered too great to bring it, by a universal military training for all classes, up to a broad basis of equality with the other armies of Europe. The national debt has been consolidated, and the financial situation has been improved by methods of economy. The severe crisis of 1873 once weathered, prosperity increased. Instead of a deficit Austria and Hungary alike have for a number of years enjoyed a very considerable surplus: in 1893 that of Hungary reached $35,890,000. Each country is considering the regulation of its currency and a withdrawal of the unfunded paper money, a remnant of the 'sixties. After the constitution was assured, each community obtained the right of self-government; in simple cases the state administration was separated from that of the judicial, a jury aiding the judge in penal cases and in such as concern the press; individual claims upon the state were transferred to higher courts. With the law concerning societies and meetings, the last remnant of the old police system was abolished. Trade, freed from the system of guilds, received a new impetus through museums of industrial arts in Vienna, Budapest, and the provinces, together with their associated schools; and speedily the products of Austrian industry compared favorably with those of foreign lands. A college and various normal schools of agriculture, largely subsidized by the state and with the instruction of specially appointed lecturers, paved the way to a more rational system of agronomics. The prosperity of the peasants, especially in Hungary, has greatly increased since their liberation.

The peculiar advantages of the industrial establishments have strengthened and developed the state, and particularly the two cities of Vienna and Budapest. Until well into the 'fifties the centre of Vienna was still surrounded by fortifications; the walls were then removed, and the town was beautified by handsome squares, streets, and imposing works of modern architecture. Budapest also expanded rapidly, with an extraordinary increase of commercial activity. National jealousy spurred on the capitals of the several Crown Lands, which, as in Prague and Lemberg, displayed a truly metropolitan life. Vienna, under Francis Joseph, the promoter of art, has increased its reputation as the home of good taste. The universities were reorganized, new institutes were added and fully equipped with all the resources demanded by modern science, and the technical high schools under the impetus of the general development in arts and sciences, were also forced to a corresponding reorganization. The energies of the people were directed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into new channels. Obstructions to the navigation of the Danube were removed, and railroads multiplied and extended despite the difficulties presented by mountainous regions—particularly in Austria,—until, in the north of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, they might be favorably compared with those of larger commercial countries. These roads largely became the property of the state, with an accompanying reduction in traffic rates. The presence of Francis Joseph at the opening of the Suez Canal was an expression of the part Austria-Hungary was preparing to assume in the world's intercourse.

Thus state and people have co-operated to realize the imperial programme. The vigorous expansion of the monarchy, and its credit, visible in the continual and very considerable appreciation of the national bonds; the indirect revenue; the consolidation of the constitution; the honest relinquishment of all ideas of retaliation; the policy of peace and internal invigoration,—dissipated disaffection and hostility and won respect and consideration. Germany and Italy sought alliance with the empire, and the international union proved far more advantageous than its former unfavorable condition in the German Confederation and in northern Italy. The commercial treaties recently concluded with the neighboring powers, have also aided the industrial interests of the empire in attaining a commendable stability. If, on the one hand, the monarchy does not quite occupy the leading position among European powers, as in Metternich's day, on the other hand, its present position rests on a more solid foundation than formerly. It is established upon the free and harmonious co-operation of sovereign and people, since both can contemplate with satisfaction the fruit of an untiring industry which has shrunk from no sacrifice.

AUGUST FOURNIER.

VIENNA, October 15, 1895.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON PLEASING THE TASTE OF THE PUBLIC.

Two lines of the prologue for the opening of Drury Lane Theatre, which Dr. Johnson wrote to be spoken by his former pupil, David Garrick, still linger on our lips as a familiar quotation:—

> "The drama's laws the drama's patrons give,
> And we that live to please must please to live."

This pair of rhymes is characterized by the robust common sense which at once limits Johnson's criticism and gives it its chief value. Common sense kept the man who could thus compact a simple truth into a striking couplet from giving to his assertion an extension not warranted by his own long continued observation of the methods and the motives of men of letters. An absence of this caution has led later writers to ascribe the broad success of this or that author to the skill with which this or that author has gauged the popular taste at the moment of publication, artfully preparing his literary wares to meet a widespread demand which he has shrewdly foreseen.

This is a most unsatisfactory and a most unscientific attempt to explain away what seems often inexplicable,—the interest sometimes shown by the book-buying public in the writings of an author whose works are not esteemed by his fellow-craftsmen. As it is hard to prove a negative I will not maintain that no author has ever been clear-sighted enough to guess at the probable duration of the next swing of the pendulum; but I am certain that the lucky hits of this sort must be very far between and that any author who should rely mainly on his ability to guess at the kind of book the public was going to thirst after six months or a year later, would be very likely to go hungry himself.

And I venture to believe also that there is a fallacy concealed in the phrase which speaks of "the taste of the public," for it assumes that there is a public,—*one* public, having a taste in common with all its members. I am inclined to think that, so far from there being only one public, the number of publics having widely divergent likes and dislikes is indefinite, not to say infinite. These smaller publics are no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two of them of the same size; and no doubt the membership of some of them is too limited for an author to hope to make his living by pleasing it. There are in fact as many different publics as there are separate authors; and there must be, since no two writers ever made precisely the same appeal to their readers. No two leaders in literature ever had exactly the same set of followers. The admirers of Byron when he burst forth first had been many of them the admirers of Scott; but the two circles had not the same radius; and they were intersecting and not concentric.

The broad reading public to which a popular author is supposed to address himself, is really rent in twain by the differences of its disputes over literary principles. Just as a man must take either the Hebraic view of life or the Hellenic, to use the distinction that Matthew Arnold borrowed from Heine, just as he must be either an Aristotelian or a Platonist, whether he knows it or not, so he is also (perhaps from inquiry and conviction but more probably from native temperament) either an Ancient or a Modern, either a Classicist or a Romanticist, either an Idealist or a Realist. The standards are opposed and the conflict is irrepressible. Whoever enlists under one of these banners is ready with the torch to torture those who volunteer to uphold the other. The very acrimony of these discussions is all the evidence anyone can demand before being assured that the public is not one, single, and indivisible.

The public is really but a congeries of warring factions; and sometimes these factions are representative of the degree of development to which those who compose it have attained. Each, as it rises a step higher in the scale of civilization, naturally despises that which remains below on the plane it has just abandoned, and it is in turn detested by that over which it boasts its new superiority. Probably a similar state of affairs is visible wherever there is progress; those who are going to the front looking back with contempt on those who linger in the rear, —a contempt which is repaid with frank and justifiable hatred. Perhaps as apt an illustration of this as any now available may be found in the present state of affairs existing among the vast body of men and women who are fond of the game of whist.

In Dr. Pole's calm and scientific discussion of the "Evolution of Whist, a Study of the Progressive Changes which the Game has passed through from its Origin to the Present Time," we are told that the development of whist has had four periods. In the first of these the player relied chiefly on his master-cards and his trumps, following suit

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with any one of his low cards; and this Dr. Pole calls the Primitive Game. In the second stage the game was raised into a really intellectual pastime by Hoyle and his followers, and long whist gave way before short whist. The Game of Hoyle was the basis of the development taking place during the third period, during which there was evolved the Philosophical Game, indissolubly connected with the names of Clay and "Cavendish." The fourth period is that of the Latter-day Improvements, in which the American Leads have been adopted with other concomitant devices of like delicacy and subtlety.

As it happens there is a department of literature in which the development is singularly similar to the evolution of whist and in which we can also declare four chronological periods, the one following the other and flowering from it. This is the art of Fiction. In the beginning Fiction dealt with the Impossible,—with wonders, with mysteries, with the supernatural; and these are the staple of the "Arabian Nights," of Greek romances like the "Golden Ass," and of the tales of chivalry like "Amadis of Gaul." In the second stage the merely Improbable was substituted for the frankly Impossible; and the hero went through adventures in kind such as might befall anybody, but in quantity far more than are likely to happen to any single man, unless his name were *Gil Blas* or *Quentin Durward*, *Natty Bumppo*, or *d'Artagnan*. Then, in the course of years, the Improbable was superseded by the Probable; and it is by their adroit presentation of the Probable that Balzac and Thackeray hold their high places in the history of the art. But the craft of the novelist did not come to its climax with the masterpieces of Balzac and of Thackeray; its development continued perforce; and there arose story-tellers who preferred to deal rather with the Inevitable than with the Probable only; of this fourth stage of the evolution of fiction perhaps the most salient examples are the "Scarlet Letter" of Hawthorne and the "Romola" of George Eliot, the "Smoke" of Turgeneff and the "Anna Karénina" of Tolstoi.

"We have noticed four steps or stages marking the progress, and producing four varieties of game, all really Whist, but Whist in different stages of development," says Dr. Pole, and his words can be applied absolutely to the four varieties of Fiction also. "The later forms have, indeed, grown out of the earlier ones, but have not necessarily extinguished or abolished them,"—and this is true of fiction too. "The admirers of any late step are perfectly justified in showing its superiority to the one before it, but there is room enough in the world for both to continue to exist side by side"; and it is from this lofty

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attitude of broad toleration thus recommended by Dr. Pole, that the late Professor Boyesen departed when he commented on the amazing predilection Mr. Andrew Lang had declared for the more primitive forms of Fiction. The novel-readers who prefer tales of the Impossible or of the Improbable resemble the whist-players who prefer the Primitive Game, which, so Dr. Pole informs us, is still—

"—played by enormous numbers of domestic players, who find incidents enough in it to amuse them for hours together. And though many of them would doubtless be able to learn and to enjoy a more intellectual form, there is no reason why it should be thrust upon them, or why they should be calumniated for adhering to their innocent form of entertainment. It is probable that they follow fairly the general mode of play in the infancy of the game."

We all see that it was in the infancy of Fiction that it dealt with the Impossible and in its boyhood that it began to attempt the Improbable. Although the liking for the Impossible still survives among children and is likely to survive among them always, I am inclined to think that it is almost dead among men and women who have attained their majority. The bulk of the novel-readers of this last decade of the nineteenth century are either in the second stage of development or in the third; they have been wearied by the exploiting of the Impossible, but they are not yet ready to enjoy the discussion of the Inevitable; and they do not care much whether the incidents of the stories they lounge through negligently are doubtfully improbable or actually probable. But there is a certain portion of the public which takes its fiction seriously, which respects the art of narrative, which sees the possibilities now open before the novelist, and which holds the story-teller up to the highest standard. This portion of the public—welcoming warmly the fiction which gives the most truthful interpretation of life—is steadily gaining in numbers and in influence.

I fear that its swifter increase is not a little retarded by its own intolerance toward the novel-readers who yet delight in the Primitive Game. This attitude is easy to understand but none the less is it unfortunate. "We may take it for granted that, whatever may be the exclusive notions of the select Whist aristocracy, there will always be a large democratic body who will please themselves as to what sort of game they will play," says Dr. Pole very pertinently. "The amiable lady who begins by playing out her aces, or the pleasant club-member who leads his lowest card from five, ought not to be upbraided for bad play. All that should be said is that they play varieties of the game differing from that recommended in 'Cavendish's' latest edition." In

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

like manner Prof. Boyesen should not have berated Mr. Lang for preferring Mr. Haggard's gory romances to Tolstoi's more serious discussions of human experience. The American critic should have contented himself with pointing out that his British colleague liked the Primitive Game better than the Latter-day Improvements. And really it was unreasonable in Prof. Boyesen to expect that Mr. Lang should appreciate the new American Leads, either in literature or in life.

Any movement forward by the more intelligent is like the sending ahead of skirmishers, and we have no right to expect to find the main body of the army close at the heels of the advance guard. The most we can hope is that the ground taken by the few pioneers yesterday shall be held in force to-day. Generally any improvement in taste makes its way slowly, and the bulk of the public must always lag long behind the keener intellects that delight to spy out a new land for themselves. In New York city, for instance, the last thirty years have seen a most extraordinary increase in the popular appreciation of music.

Toward the end of the 'sixties Mr. Theodore Thomas and his orchestra played every summer night in the old Central Park Garden and the programme was made up largely of medleys from Offenbach's operettas and of dance-music. Owing to Mr. Thomas's increasing efforts to give better and better music as he educated the New York concert-goer, and owing also to the labors of Dr. Damrosch and Mr. Seidl, there is now perhaps no city in the world where more music of the highest class is heard in the course of the year than in New York, and none where it is more delicately enjoyed. The finest of Wagner's music-dramas are not now too solid fare for the subscribers of the Metropolitan Opera House, who no longer find any satisfaction even in the most expensive performance of sugary trifles like the "Lucia" of Donizetti.

But though the subscribers of the Metropolitan Opera House have lost their liking for "Traviata" and for "Trovatore," the occasional experiments of other opera-companies in other New York theatres and in opera-houses in other cities of the Union seem to show that there are perhaps as many music-lovers as ever who have advanced just far enough to understand and enjoy these simple favorites of former days. The opera-goers of this class are like the whist-players who stick to the Primitive Game or the novel-readers who revel in romances of the Improbable. And I have no doubt that if a young conductor possessing such shrewdness and force as Mr. Thomas revealed, should give summer night concerts in New York, placing on his programme dance-tunes and medleys from operettas, he would have now quite as large a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

following as Mr. Thomas had thirty years ago; and in time he could slowly lead on this portion of the public to the acceptance of music demanding a more careful appreciation.

There is ready at hand yet another example of the ease with which a portion of the public can be educated to have a relish for the finer forms of art. It was in the 'sixties that Mr. Thomas began his elevating work here in New York; and it was in the 'seventies that the American magazines began to seek for a fresher and a richer pictorial embellishment, a search which slowly brought into existence the illustrated monthly due to the loving co-operation of the editor, the artist, the engraver, and the printer. The best of these sumptuous publications, having gradually created the taste by which they were estimated, attained to an enormous circulation,—a fact which might seem to prove them to be precisely "the kind of periodical that the public wants."

Yet early in the 'nineties we saw the appearance of a swarm of cheaper monthlies, filled with process-blocks from photographs; and some of these slight magazines also attained to an enormous circulation. But as the success of these new periodicals affected only a little (if at all) the sale of the older and solider magazines, it is obvious that "the kind of periodical that the public wants" is a question to which there are now two answers. In other words, while one segment of the reading circle has been led to develop a liking for the more substantial merits of the established magazines, another segment is attracted by the cheap tawdriness of the more flimsy novelties. And it is quite within the bounds of possibility that an inventive editor might now devise a third form of periodical which should also attain to an enormous circulation without interfering with the profits of either class of monthly now most in favor; he would be proving only the existence of a third segment of the reading circle.

So I return to the assertion made in an early paragraph of this paper; there is really no such entity as *the* public. There is *a* public ready to welcome everything which is good in its kind; and there are as many publics as there are different kinds of good things. Few of us are so limited in our likings as to belong to one public only. The extreme Wagnerite is often warmest in praise of a captivating waltz by Strauss; and the extreme veritist can acknowledge the charm of a romantic fantasy of Stevenson's. Perhaps a reader of extraordinary catholicity might belong almost to all the different publics.

Some of these publics are very large indeed and some of them are very small. "Hamlet," for example, appeals to almost every type of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

play-goer, while the performance of Ibsen's "Ghosts" pleases only a chosen few. In general, of course, the higher up the pyramid is cut, the smaller will be the area of the cross-section,—"Hamlet" being one of the rare works which are so nearly universal as rather to bisect the pyramid than to cut across it. When one has once grasped firmly the idea that the people at large are massed in a pyramid, one layer above the other, with the most intelligent at the apex, one cannot but see the futility of all assertions that "the public wants to be amused," and "the public wants sensation and excitement," and "the public does not want analysis and disquisition." There is a public that wants to be amused; and perhaps the larger portion of this public wants sensation and excitement and does not want analysis and disquisition. But there is a public also which does want analysis and disquisition and does not want sensation and excitement. There is a segment of the reading circle with the keenest relish for airy fantasy and for delicate humor. There is another segment hungry for the naked truth. There is yet another which has no real liking for knowledge of itself and which therefore likes to hear over and over again the old outworn tales and to listen again and again to old outworn rhymes of *love* and *dove*, of *heart* and *part*.

This diversity of public taste has always existed—except perhaps in the compact community of Athens. In the prologue he wrote for the third performance of one of his comedies, Terence denounced the foolish spectators because at the first performance they were all excitement over an exhibition on the tight-rope which was to follow, and because at the second performance the theatre emptied itself suddenly in the middle of the play, when a rumor ran around the house that there were going to be gladiators elsewhere in the neighborhood. (If I may open a parenthesis here, I should like to drop the query as to whether Gresham's Law may not be as potent in art as it is in finance, the inferior product driving out the superior, as the bloody shows of the arena in Rome finally extinguished the Latin literary drama.) In England under Elizabeth the wooden theatres in which Shakespeare's sublimest tragedies were acted, served on other days of the week as a ring for the sport of bear-baiting. In the early part of the nineteenth century in London, when Sarah Siddons and John Philip Kemble were in the plenitude of their powers, they played often to the bare benches of Drury Lane, while the same night Covent Garden would be packed with people eager to behold a real elephant take part in a spectacular pantomime. The elephant and the bear-baiting and the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gladiators, each in their turn, pleased that part of the public which was still playing the Primitive Game—to use Dr. Pole's phrase—and which therefore was wholly incapable of understanding the Philosophical Game, so to speak, of Mrs. Siddons, of Shakespeare, and of Terence.

And yet that portion of the public which clings to the Primitive Game has at least one fine quality; it is perfectly sincere. It is not a humbug, or a sham. It knows what it likes and it is not ashamed of its prejudices. It makes no pretence of regard for the more advanced art it is unable to appreciate. It is frank and outspoken in its conviction that Hawthorne is slow and Turgeneff dull; and it makes no effort whatever to conceal its opinion that Ibsen is tiresome and that Mr. Howells is colorless. It is wholly without the snobbishness which induces not a few of those readers who really most enjoy the romances of Mr. Haggard to pretend that they prefer the novels of Mr. Meredith merely because there was once a Meredith cult among the cultured.

I am inclined to believe that the position of that portion of the public which retains its primitive taste in literature, is often misrepresented and even more often misunderstood. For one thing this portion of the public is composed of plain people who are not only sincere themselves in their literary likes and dislikes, but are also swift to detect insincerity in the authors who seek to interest them. They revolt at the slightest hint of condescension. They insist on being taken seriously;—and this is why Mr. Andrew Lang's ingenious sensational story "The Mark of Cain" fell flat, while hundreds of thousands were sold of the sensational stories of "Hugh Conway" who had not a tithe of Mr. Lang's cleverness.

Here we find a possible explanation of a problem which has puzzled more than one generation of literary critics;—why do the writings of certain authors have an immense vogue when these authors are seen to be without the really great qualities? Is success in literature only a lottery? Is the general public a fool then, easily to be led by the nose? As there is no effect without a cause, there must be a reason for the popularity which sometimes seems to us unaccountable. The real explanation of the welcome which was bestowed on the "Proverbial Philosophy" of the late Martin Farquhar Tupper, for example, or on the novels of the late E. P. Roe, is to be sought in the sincerity of these two writers. Neither was in any way a charlatan. Both of them gave the public the best they had in them; and, as it happened, they thus voiced the unformulated feelings of the segment of the reading circle to which they themselves belonged. So far from writing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

down to the public taste, as they were accused of doing, they were, in fact, writing *up* to the taste of the portion of the public that welcomed their works. By their own birth and bringing up, both Mr. Tupper and Mr. Roe were in a measure representative of the "plain people," as Lincoln phrased it; and they could not help taking the plain people's point of view. This the plain people recognized promptly; and the writers had their reward on the spot. Their writings lacked the permanent qualities of literature, no doubt, and that is why their vogue was temporary only.

More accomplished men of letters than either Mr. Tupper or Mr. Roe have not taken this point of view naturally and thus they have failed to voice the feelings of the very segment of the reading circle they hoped to please. Indeed, I doubt if any author, who has tried to guess at the taste of the public that he might flatter it, has ever made a hit satisfactory to himself; and I am certain that no author who really despised his audience, as more than one author may have pretended to despise it, has ever really pleased those to whom he made his appeal thus cynically. It happens that I have met at one time or another many of the novelists and dramatists of France, of England, and of America, those whom the critics delight to honor and those also at whom the criticasters joy to gird; and the quality which the latter class seemed to me to have most abundantly was earnestness. They believed in their own work and they were doing it as well as in them lay. Their success was due to the fact that their best corresponded absolutely with the ideal of a certain segment of the reading circle or of a certain proportion of the play-goers. In other words, and to use another of Lincoln's always keen phrases, these popular novelists and dramatists were producing "just the kind of thing that a man would like who liked that kind of thing." And that is why they met with a far wider success than the far cleverer and far more accomplished men of letters whose merits might be vaunted by all who had so far progressed themselves in literature as to appreciate the Latter-day Developments, as Dr. Pole calls them. It is only now and again that there comes a rare writer able to delight at once his brethren of the craft and the plain people also; and he does this not by trying to please the public but rather by expressing himself and by doing always the best he knows how. His segment of the reading circle subtends a very wide angle because his art is as firm as his outlook on our common humanity is broad.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOLLAND'S CARE FOR ITS POOR.

THE conditions in Holland are such as to make economy absolutely necessary. There is but little waste that can be tolerated, hence the people are saving. But this enforced saving does not of necessity lead to wealth; it is essential to existence. The "laying by for a rainy day" and the tiding-over of some unexpected period of depression form such important features in the domestic economy of the Hollanders that the government has organized two institutions for the benefit and protection of its poorer classes,—the Postal Savings Bank and the Loaning or Pawn Bank.

The Postal Savings Bank had demonstrated its value in England, Belgium, and Italy before Holland saw its applicability to the needs of her people. Mr. Gladstone had declared these banks to be "the greatest and most important work ever undertaken by the government for the benefit of the nation"; the French economist Prévost regarded their conception as grand, and their administration as approaching perfection; while Engel and Elster advocated most earnestly their introduction into the postal systems of Germany and Austria.

Corporate savings banks in Holland had received such a severe blow by the numerous failures occasioned by the depreciation of public securities in 1830, 1848, and 1860, that the Netherlands delegate to the "Congrès International des Institutions de Prévoyance," at the meeting held in Paris during the early days of July, 1878, was obliged to say that the actual savings in Holland as shown by the banks during the past six years had been very slight. He attributed this unfortunate condition to two causes: first, the inaccessibility of the banks to the people (those in the cities being open only at hours when the working-man is employed, while the man in the country cannot make deposits except at great loss of time); and second, the insufficient security furnished by private corporations. This state of affairs was deemed so serious as to call for amelioration at the hands of the government. Consequently, on May 4, 1879, two projects were laid before the "Chambre des Députés": (1) to organize a system by which money

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might be sent by mail, free of charge, to the savings banks; (2) to establish a postal savings bank. The second proposition was adopted May 24, 1880, and became effective April 1, 1881. In formulating the rules and elaborating the present method of conducting the routine work, the bank has had the benefit of the services of Dr. Sassen, who, as a professor of political economy, had studied the problem from its theoretical side, and now, as Director, devotes his zeal and energy to its administration. Dr. Sassen examined with great care the three national organizations already in existence, selected from them such features as he deemed adaptable to his own country, and then from his daily experience rounded out the system which I shall now describe.

Every post-office is a place of deposit, and the postmasters, together with a large number of special agents, are the authorized receivers. A person wishing to open an account must make application on a printed form, and hand it to the most convenient receiver. In return he obtains a pass-book free of cost, in which, when deposits are made, the amount must be entered in words and in figures, with the date. The postmaster, both as compensation and as an inducement for him to secure new depositors, receives five cents[1] for each new account opened, and one and a half cents for each entry. Persons living in the country at a distance of more than twenty minutes' walk from an authorized agency can have their deposits made by the mail-carrier.

No deposit of less than one florin is accepted, but, to encourage small savings, sheets of paper containing twenty blank spaces are furnished gratuitously, each space being intended for a five-cent postage-stamp. When this sheet is filled, it may be presented with the pass-book, and the depositor is credited with one florin, the receiver cancelling each stamp and placing the sheet on file. School-children and inmates of orphan asylums may obtain small leaflets with one hundred spaces to be filled with one-cent stamps, and to be likewise credited, on deposit, at the value of one florin. This may appear trivial, yet nearly 27,000 florins a year are deposited in this form.

Every five days the receivers report directly to the Ministry of Postal Affairs, stating the amount of receipts and disbursements during that period; and every ten days the balance is adjusted by the transfer of such other funds as they are required to transmit. Since the General Post-Office is the soul of this bank, every stamp cancelled

[1] All sums mentioned in this portion of the article referring to savings banks will be given in florins (of one hundred cents each), a florin being regarded as equivalent to forty cents in United States currency.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as part of a deposit represents a corresponding amount which the Post-Office has received through some stamp-selling agency. From all the ten-day reports thus received, the main office draws up a statement which is sent to the Director, informing him how much money he has to the credit of the bank. The detailed memoranda of receipts and disbursements are transmitted directly to the bank, where all individual accounts are kept. These accounts are balanced every ten days, and the balanced totals must agree with the statement made from the General Post-Office. There is also a check on the individual deposits. Periodically a statement is sent directly to each depositor, giving the amount standing to his credit, both as deposits and in the shape of interest.

As usual, there are two periods from which interest is reckoned—the 16th and the 1st of each month. All sums deposited during the first half of the month begin to draw interest on the 16th, and deposits made within the second half draw interest from the first of the following month. The rate of interest is 2.64 per cent,—apparently a peculiar number, but one purposely selected because, while being practically the highest rate which the bank could afford to pay, it had the great merit of being an exact multiple of 24, the number of semi-monthly interest-periods in a year. Thus on every thousand florins the interest is eleven cents for one period.

To earn this interest guaranteed by the State, the Director, knowing every ten days the amount standing to the credit of the bank, goes into the Exchange and buys such securities as the bank's charter will permit, and in such quantities as his judgment suggests to be wise. These permissible securities are State and municipal bonds, railway bonds that are guaranteed by the State, and, in general, such paper as the Netherland Bank—the depository of government funds—would accept as collateral. Of course the successful operation of the bank, having a fixed rate of interest for deposits, depends upon the wisdom shown in investments. The average rate paid in Holland has been decreasing for the past ten years, so that now the bank receives, on an average, 3.36 per cent. By good and economical management the expenses have been kept down. Last year they amounted to only 0.56 per cent of the amount on deposit at the close of the year. This, as will be seen, leaves a small margin of profit. The earned money goes toward forming a reserve fund, whose purpose is to provide at all times for any untoward run on the bank, and also to extend the limit of accounts as hereinafter described.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If a depositor desires to withdraw his money, he can do so at the office of deposit, provided the amount be less than twenty-five florins; for larger sums it is necessary to make application to the Director, who will issue to the appropriate office an order to pay the amount in full or in such installments as the bank's balance will permit. So far it has not been necessary to resort to the installment plan. In case of haste, the application and the permission can be sent by telegraph; and, since the telegraph is a part of the postal system, all transmission of despatches as well as mail are free of charge to the sender.

There are certain regulations, wrought out by experience, regarding the transfer of an account from one person to another, the withdrawal of the funds of a deceased depositor, and money deposited by minors and orphans. The one, however, which is the most striking, is the limit of accounts. No interest is paid to individuals on sums in excess of 1,200 florins, nor to societies or corporations on more than 1,500 florins. This rule practically fixes the limit of the account. It is an arbitrary regulation, but it is wisely founded. First of all, the withdrawal of a number of large accounts at once might embarrass the management while the reserve fund is such a small percentage of the deposits. As the former grows, the limit can be extended, as has been done once already. Then, again, the policy of the bank is to encourage its depositors to make permanent investments, which they can do to advantage with the sum defined by the present limit. As a further stimulus in this direction, the Director is authorized to purchase for depositors, upon their order, such securities as the bank itself regards as safe, and to deduct the cost price and commission from their credit with the bank.

The argument is sometimes made that savings banks are injurious, in that they tempt a man to deposit his money at a low rate of interest instead of loaning it to a neighbor or assisting a local enterprise, to the greater benefit of borrower, lender, and the community. This objection fails in the case of the bank under consideration. By fixing a limit to the income-yielding deposit, it practically tells the possessor of such a sum to seek an investment, while a person or enterprise in need of an amount less than this limit, and willing to pay a higher rate, would not be safe. Therefore if, in such cases, the government tempts the holders of small sums to trust their money in its bank, it is in reality protecting them against most probable loss under the alluring attraction of greater gains. There is also a very strong argument in favor of securing small savers against loss. If a man, after great pri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vation, has been able to lay aside only a small sum, he is in general a person incapable of making safe loans, so that loss is quite imminent. The moral effect of loss on persons of that type is to discourage them in further attempts toward economizing, while suggesting at all times how much better it is to take life easier than to save money for another to spend. Although these losses may be few, still they are incurred by people who freely speak of their misfortunes, and thus many become influenced by the experience of one.

At this time safe investments in Holland are paying from 3 to 3½ per cent. Consequently any bank which will practically reach out its hands to the mechanic in his shop, the child at school, or the farmer at his work; which will collect their money in small or in large amounts, make it productive within two weeks, and pay 2.64 per cent interest, with the government guarantee for payment of interest and principal,—is not only profitable to the people: it is a blessing to the country, and a noble monument to its founders and to its administrator.

In order to show the growth of this bank I have obtained from the Director the following statistics, beginning with the first (entire) year of its existence.

Year	Number of accounts at end of year	Amount on deposit	Interest earned for depositors	Cost of administration
1882	23,411	*Fl.* 1,124,368	*Fl.* 34,093	2.74 %
1883	21,680	1,132,918	62,139	1.93
1884	22,876	1,334,318	93,478	1.58
1885	21,510	1,578,832	131,333	1.29
1886	27,681	2,305,014	184,119	1.04
1887	29,038	2,034,441	241,260	0.84
1888	32,736	2,509,633	304,973	0.71
1889	39,412	3,143,913	382,227	0.63
1890	40,695	3,234,054	473,529	0.57
1891	37,236	2,191,414	548,658	0.51
1892	39,377	2,897,159	622,965	0.45
1893	41,718	3,499,015	697,483	0.43

This table demonstrates that while the number of depositors has varied, and the amount on deposit at the close of each year has not in all cases been in excess of that of the preceding year, still the cost of administration per florin has gradually diminished, and the interest has uniformly increased,—these two last-named facts proving that the deposits are becoming more permanent, and the number of persistent savers is rapidly increasing. It is no small matter for the government to have saved twenty-eight millions of florins for its people in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

twelve years enumerated, and chiefly for that class of its people who, if left to themselves, would not have saved one-tenth of that sum.

"State Loaning Bank" is the name given to the official pawn establishments of Holland, although the word "official" in this connection might be omitted, since private pawnbrokerage is not permitted,—at least not openly. The law which created the "Stads Bank van Leening" declared that the conduct of private concerns of like character would be regarded as a misdemeanor; and since punishment in Holland follows sure and fast upon the infraction of a law, this particular statute is not frequently or flagrantly violated. There are a few persons who carry on a "sale and re-sale" business, and keep within the letter even if they overstep the spirit of the law. Such traders buy a proffered article from a needy person, and with the purchase-price give an agreement to resell the article to the holder within a certain time for a stipulated price.

It was the abuse of this as well as of the ordinary form of pawnbrokerage that prompted the government to take the matter in hand. The poor especially needed protection; for it is usually this class who demand advances, and their necessities are generally so great that no time can be spent in a search for advantageous terms. Thus it was that private brokers received from 40 to 60 per cent interest, with no chance of redemption on the part of the borrower after the expiration of the allotted time.

The government banks are conducted on business principles, and charge such rates as experience has shown to be necessary for safety. While the general conduct is under State supervision, it devolves upon each city to establish its own local institution and look after its specific management. Hence a description of the bank at Amsterdam will answer practically for those of the entire country.

This bank was organized in 1863, and, as in all cases, it was placed under the charge of a board of directors who gratuitously look after its interests,—the only paid officer being the secretary, who is also designated the chief book-keeper. The city set aside $360,000 as the permanent capital, with a further guarantee, at any time available, of $120,000. Out of this original fund, together with such special grants as were found necessary, eleven banks have been established, the main one, in the centre of the city, occupying an enormous building which serves as a general storehouse for all. The immediate cost of administration and incidental expenses during the past year was $54,194.89,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

while the number of loans made during the same period was 895,435. These figures show that the actual expense of making a loan was only six cents. The avowed purpose of the bank is to help those who need only temporary assistance, and that this purpose is subserved can be seen from the fact that, out of the number of loans stated above, twenty-seven out of twenty-eight were redeemed. The bank is thus also shown to be in no sense a "fence" for robbers, nor an accepted means of disposal of worthless clothes, furniture, etc. This is again evident in the gradual diminution of loans during the past three years.

A person desiring a loan must first of all know what articles are not accepted. They are: real estate; live-stock; immovable property of all kinds; ecclesiastical goods, ornaments, or furniture; military uniforms, accoutrements, or weapons; furs; mechanics' tools; and bonds. If he has anything not included in this list he may take it to one of the banks,—all of which are open in the morning from eight to one and in the afternoon from five to ten,—and there find the one of the three departments under which his particular article comes. These three categories are: copper, including household furniture; silver, embracing also jewelry; and wool, or woven goods. After having found his appropriate room, he comes face to face with a corps of sworn appraisers. He shows his pawn and states how much money he wants on it. If the appraiser decides that the article would bring this amount and the interest if sold at auction, the demand is granted. Should the sum be excessive, the limit of advance is named, which must be accepted or the goods removed. From the appraisement there is no appeal, and, as will be seen later, there is a very efficient check against over-estimation. No loan is made for less than sixteen cents.

When the sum is agreed on, the appraiser fills up one of the three blanks constituting a ticket, which, when filled, certifies that at a given bank (each one is numbered), on a certain day, article Number —— was received from such a person. The amount loaned is then stated, together with the estimated value. This ticket is presented at the counter, where the second part is filled up in duplicate of the first, which is now torn off and retained; the two remaining sections, with the money advanced, being then given to the borrower.

Should the amount of the loan be under 40 cents, the time cannot exceed six months, but for a greater sum the limit is fifteen months. The rate of interest likewise differs. From 40 cents to $1.20, the rate is 8 per cent; from $1.20 to $4, 10 per cent; and on all other sums 13 per cent. The reasons for placing the lowest rate on advances

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between 40 cents and $1.20 are: (1) the maximum number of redeemed pawns falls within these limits; (2) the greatest number of long-term loans belong to this class. Hence the safest borrowers as well as the most needy receive the benefits which they have created.

When the borrower finds that he can redeem his pledge, or its limit of redemption is at hand, he takes his ticket to the bank and surrenders the second section, retaining the third; for, if more than one month has elapsed, the article has been stored away in the main building, and two days are required to find it and bring it to the bank which issued the loan. Then, when the owner receives his goods, he signs the receipt, which is the third section of his ticket, pays the interest, and begins again his battle with the wolf at the door. There can be no misunderstanding about the amount of interest, for on the back of those portions of the ticket retained by the borrower is a table which gives the interest for florins and fractional parts for any number of days from one to thirty.

Should he not be able to redeem the pawn at the expiration of the specified time, the loan can be extended. To effect an extension, however, the pawn must be produced, the interest paid, a new assessment made, the difference in valuation—if any should be found—adjusted, and the old ticket exchanged for a new one. But if these conditions cannot be fulfilled, the article will be sold at public auction at the next monthly sale. It has been thought that borrowers frequently allow their pawns to be sold in order to buy them at auction for less than the amount of the loan. This, however, must be rarely the case, since last year the amount by which the sums advanced exceeded the sales was only $5.48 per month. The government provides that this deficit shall not be a loss to the bank, by requiring the appraisers to make good its amount,—a very efficient safeguard against over-appraisement. Should the sum received from the sale of any article exceed the amount for which it stood pledged, the excess is placed to the credit of the original owner, and can be had by him, at any time within two years, upon the presentation of the ticket referred to. It is sad to note that a large part of the tickets thus presented are held by children, suggesting that articles of some value on which small sums were asked were the property of people who were driven by sickness to borrow, and that death anticipated the ability to redeem.

At the close of the year the surplus, should there be any, is returned to the city. Last year the profits amounted to 3.37 per cent, which was slightly above the average. This, together with the small expense,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as already mentioned, shows that the bank may well be classed as a charitable institution.

No attempt, in ordinary cases, is made to determine if the one who presents an article is its actual owner. The margin on which the bank conducts its business is too slight to enable it to sustain a corps of detectives. But if there should be any great incongruity between the article and its holder, the bank may refuse a loan, or it may demand proof of ownership. Again, if one offer valuable jewelry or diamonds, he must pay for expert appraisement, and even then he will receive only 30 per cent of its estimated value. This is a necessary precaution in a city where so many men are employed in polishing precious stones.

The holder of a ticket is presumed to be the original borrower, although it is known that there exists a large traffic in tickets. But if one is lost, the owner can, by making a deposition to that effect, secure a duplicate. Sometimes a false claimant to a ticket known to be lost procures this duplicate, in which case the bank is not held responsible; it acts only upon the evidence submitted, and cannot be made party to a suit for damages.

Of course stolen property finds its way to the bank, and scarcely a day passes without a visit from the police in search of reported thefts. If the article be found in pawn, it cannot be at once recovered. The reputed owner must prove before a court of justice that the article is his; then, by paying the amount advanced, he resumes ownership. But if the thief be convicted, an order from the court restores the article to the owner free of cost. In this event the bank loses the amount advanced; but the judge, in imposing sentence, makes the period at hard work sufficiently long to pay into one of the city's hands what it lost from the other.

While these banks are abused by many, and, as the "Tante Mietje" ("loaning-aunt") of the students, enables those prodigals to take advantage of their parents, still it is a most benevolent institution most wisely managed; and it would be well if our own great country should adopt enough of the spirit of paternalism to look after that increasing class who are in so slight a measure capable of looking after themselves.

J. H. GORE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RUMORS OF WAR AND RESULTANT DUTIES.

THE present international complications are of so grave a nature, that it is well to treat them as they exist without apology for war or panegyric concerning peace: the situation certainly proves that hostilities are not always due to the professional soldier, but, on the contrary, that they may result from the rash words of civilians or from the acts of their accredited representatives. Unforeseen crises have fanned the diminutive spark until the resultant flame has made conflict imminent; while recent domestic disorders have emphasized the internal dangers threatening a peaceful and great nation, which has thus far been unable to subdue the war spirit of its inhabitants, or to mould its diverse citizenship into a peace-loving type.

Before discussing the protection of our coast against invasion, it may be well to clear the atmosphere by examining the actual state of public feeling. We may thus lessen the unfortunate differences which of late years have been steadily growing between the East and the West, and help to diminish a friction which, if allowed to continue, is as much a menace to the stability of our government as foreign war. Local prejudices must cease before we can create a true national sentiment, or provide against aggression from abroad. The gaze of the commercial centres toward the interior has been mainly a financial one, and has blinded the East to the growth of western patriotic thought, while hypercritical pessimism concerning faults of legislation has clouded the vision of capitalists to the sturdy virtues of the people. Close relations with foreign money markets have created a conservatism which has, in many quarters, weakened the sense of national honor. Material prosperity has dulled a just discernment of the future destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent. Constant trans-Atlantic intercourse has also developed, in certain eastern cities, an admiration for the superficial manners and customs of Europe, with no corresponding imitation of sterling British qualities. The younger generation, especially, are aping foreign social peculiarities, without caring to assume the political and civic responsibilities which Englishmen, or the citizens of our newer States, rarely shirk. Perceiving these sur-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

face faults, confined though they be to a comparatively small number, the western man does not adequately appreciate the true American manhood of the East, as displayed by the great bulk of the people whenever occasion has demanded; and his petty annoyance at trivial faults,—always following in the wake of advancing civilization,—is likely to create sectional divergences of opinion.

Outside the great cities, and even within them, as recent events have shown, the average citizen is very like his neighbor: it is he who rules by the majority, and generally rules well, although at times he is a most bellicose individual. In the West he is a fighter of wildernesses; in the East, of real or imagined wrong in high or low places; and throughout the country generally, of foes domestic or foreign. Denouncing aristocracy and titles, he loves military distinction and rank, and in default of obtaining them joins patriotic or secret orders, where uniform and ritual give him a passing place above his fellows: even a great religious movement, whose aim is peace, recognizes the use of martial trappings and emphasizes, with bugle and drum, its crusade against sin; while the drill of our public schools instils a militant spirit into the minds of the coming generation. Nor should all this "make the judicious grieve." The people may edge toward humorous soldier-play, but underneath it all is a common sense which recognizes that even commercial and industrial life is war, and that beyond it lies the grim possibility of internal dissension, or of dire conflict between nations; and that the citizens and children of a republic should be instructed in the elements of military discipline and usage, against the time when the ignorant, who have not learned this national alphabet, may attempt to lower the respect for flag, law, and order. It would therefore seem that the nation, far from being a peaceful community, is full of the warlike instinct, although it is equally true that it does not intentionally wish to use that instinct, except for two specific purposes: one, to hinder any European power from increasing its possessions on this hemisphere, and the other, to prevent aliens from sapping the foundations of the Republic.

Such being the case, it is unnecessary to discuss here the benefits of peace, the horrors of war, or even the Venezuelan incident. Rather must we squarely face the patent fact that the country to-day is earnestly convinced of the vital importance of a policy—call it "Monroe" or "jingo" as you will—that no European power shall enlarge its territory on this continent without the consent of the United States.

The surprise occasioned by the President's message is not flattering

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to our study of one of the cardinal principles of the Republic. The policy vitalized by Mr. Cleveland has existed during the past seventy years; and, on the whole, the country has agreed that he did the right thing, though possibly in the wrong way and at the wrong time. Certain classes may not be in touch with that policy; but nevertheless it will not down, and the Monroe Doctrine is from henceforth an integral part of our national creed. The sooner this is recognized by all foreigners, as well as by Americans, the more assured will be the future peace of the world. This attitude does not necessarily imply any hatred toward England; for, underlying all the current talk against our mother country, is the dormant feeling of jealous admiration for her strength: a virtuous strength when exerted in extending civilization, but a vicious danger when it touches an inch of territory or an iota of right on the hither side of the Atlantic. The metropolitan cry of "jingoism" will not quiet or weaken this feeling—often untimely in its utterance, selfish in its desires, or falsely expressed, but potent in its earnestness—that the weaker republics south of us must be protected in working out their development in their own way.

This our people believe to be the mission of the Republic, holding further, that it is the duty of England to spread a benign influence wheresoever she can in the Old World. This firm assurance is not nullified, even by the doubtful methods which England has so often used to obtain control of new colonies. The virile British have infused a higher life into all regions where they hold sway, and it is for us to pause and consider whether we should, in the current phrase of the day, attempt to "down England"; asking ourselves—Who, in that event, would take her place? There is also the laudable, though perhaps more or less impertinent impression abroad in the land, that Great Britain should be made to live up to the lessons which her descendants on the western continent have taught her—lessons of liberty in 1776, of marine rights in 1812, of international comity and arbitration at Geneva, and of improved education and Christian propaganda in Syria and Armenia. The thunderbolt of last December may have come out of a seemingly clear sky, but nimbus clouds had long been hovering over Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, and the Spanish Main. Wise international weather prophets had discerned the threatening storm, and had counselled arbitration and pacific avoidance of a coast-sweeping, political cyclone, whose approach England at last seems tardily to realize. If, unhappily, our rulers do not act with calm deliberation, or if Great Britain cannot appreciate the full force of the American wind

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of destiny, but stubbornly ignores the forecast, war will ensue. That she may conscientiously deem herself right will only intensify the power of the storm which, with calm fortitude, we may be compelled to face; for, as has been justly remarked, "the fight of right against wrong is terrible, but the most terrific of all tragedies is the fight of right against right."

We shall gain nothing by shirking the tremendous risks we must run if we come to blows with a giant like England; and the country should not be deceived into a false security by the assumption that we can improvise a defence against her stupendous modern fleet, which can devastate our coast, although her army may never ultimately penetrate the interior. Therefore, facing the whole situation fairly and squarely, convinced that the people demand the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, we must at once put ourselves in a position to enforce, with measurable dignity, a recognition of the American continental policy. The situation, the times, are ripe for quick action: the question is, What shall we do?

Under the pressure of public opinion, Congress ought to be relied upon to begin the system of coast defences and the construction of more battle-ships, so long advocated by the army and navy; but, if action be not immediately taken, the same public opinion may be lulled into fancied security, while the present depleted condition of the Treasury will undoubtedly serve as an argument against large appropriations. It is the instant duty, therefore, of the seaboard States to bring the utmost pressure upon their representatives at Washington to provide adequate legislation for the insurance of their homes and property against sudden attack; and it is the complemental duty of the inhabitants of the interior to provide means for guarding the coast against any foe whose anger they may provoke by overzealous patriotic speech. Granting, for argument's sake, however, that Congress will vote funds for the construction of forts and ships, it still remains a physical impossibility to complete, arm, and equip them for several years to come. We must therefore seek other means to repel imminent attack.

The United States is comparatively poor in war material, but rich in enthusiasm, brains, inventive genius, and mechanical industries. All these can be relied upon to counterbalance many deficiencies in military science; the civil war having proved conclusively the aptitude of Americans to successfully transfer their occupations of peace into the requirements of war. While it is undoubtedly true that military science has advanced with great strides since the close of the re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bellion, it is also true that mechanical devices used in the arts of trade have made an equal improvement, and on the same lines as those used in handling guns or ships. It is also to be carefully noted that the system developed by large corporations has given powers of command and habits of obedience to numbers of citizens, and has trained employees to much stricter methods than obtained formerly in the regular armies and navies of the world. The persons liable to military enrollment, even excluding those of the National Guard, are to-day much better fitted for soldiers than the raw recruits who formed the bulk of the army thirty years ago. This point is emphasized, as we are liable to fall into the delusion that success in war depends upon *materiel* rather than upon *personnel;* a delusion which brought disaster to France in 1870, and to China in 1894.

The very first need, therefore, is the formation of a General Staff, whose opinion should be authoritative on all questions relating to the immediate organization for defence. This staff should at once investigate what existing materials could be quickly utilized for war, and propose a plan for simplifying, increasing, and mobilizing the various forces which could be made available in case of sudden attack. Germany has set the example of what such a staff could accomplish, but neither England nor America has profited by the lesson. The thoughtful officers of each Service fully realize the lack of concerted action between the different existing "bureaus," although prevented by official etiquette from giving it publicity; while men of affairs, who have had a more or less intimate knowledge of the workings of the war department at Washington, cannot avoid the conclusion that executive centralization is not conducive to breadth of view. Conflicting orders and theories are at present forced upon the Services by rival heads of departments, who, though conscientious in endeavor, are imbued with the theory that very few persons, outside the select circle at the Capitol, can perform their whole duty. The consequence is, that every trifle—to the most minute detail—has to be settled from Washington, and junior officers are not obtaining those habits of responsibility which are so essential as a training for war. The system is sapping the life of the Services, destroying ambition, and will utterly prevent quick mobilization of equipment or men.

"The personal equation" is also rampant; the higher officials being prevented, by the fear of political criticism and the constant dread of jeopardizing their positions, from turning their attention to broad military subjects. Habits of mind which dwell only upon ephemeral rank

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and place are thus formed; and, as a result, the finest military and naval *personnel* in the world is being rapidly undermined by professional "line and staff" wrangling, when, at this opportune time, it should be endeavoring to enlarge the character and scope of its duty until the navy, at least, should include all government marine departments, and embrace new organizations to be at once formed for the defence of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. There would then be sufficient places where pay and preferment might be obtained.

The organization of a General Staff is the only remedy. It should be similar to that of Germany, but modified to suit the conditions and peculiarities of a republic, and it should include certain members who are thoroughly in touch with the pulse of the people and the aims of the citizen soldier. The argument may be advanced that, if war be upon us, there is no time to rearrange existing military and naval methods. Be that as it may, let us inquire what are the imperative needs of the hour.

First, as attack will come from the sea, Congress must give authority for more ships: these, as has been shown, cannot be made at once, and it may be assumed also that our present fleet cannot possibly prevent the enemy from anchoring in some of the numerous unprotected bays along the Atlantic coast, for the purpose of making raids upon adjacent cities. Once anchored there, we must endeavor to sink or drive them away before they can accomplish their purpose. Fast torpedo-boats, submarine vessels, and rams can accomplish this end. Perfect craft of this nature take some time to build, but quite efficient ones can in the meantime be hurriedly constructed: even powerful tugs and yachts, if concentrated in sufficient numbers upon a given ship or ships, would render a good account of themselves. Daring and dash will play as important a part to-day as they have done in the past, for notwithstanding the perfect mechanism and gun power of the modern man-of-war, the odds are not so much in her favor as is generally supposed. The intricacies of her numerous engines of destruction and her weakness below the water line, make her almost as vulnerable as the old wooden frigate. Young Americans will, at all events, be found who would prefer to take a chance with the attack rather than be on the defence, imprisoned, with hundreds of others, on board a battle-ship which would quickly sink if a large charge of dynamite once struck her. The outlay for a fleet of torpedo-boats is small, while the defensive result is large: they should be begun at once, and stationed permanently in each of our larger harbors. If happily war does not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ensue, they will, at all events, be in the right place, and can be used for developing the naval militia for defending their own States.

The monitors—still serviceable as floating batteries—now lying at League Island should be distributed, and should be manned by crews shipped in addition to the regular peace establishment, and used for drilling a national naval reserve, as proposed in the new bill introduced by Congressman Cummings of New York. Inducement should be held out to fishermen, sailors, and "longshoremen," to enlist for a short period during the winter when many of them are idle, while officers of the merchant marine could be instructed in the technical, military part of their vocation,—the men to receive the pay of their grade for the actual days served, the officers (who may pass a stipulated examination) to be allowed to fly the naval reserve flag. The coast should be divided into "districts," and all persons in government employ, in any seafaring capacity, should be compelled by law to do a certain amount of annual drill, or receive a definite amount of instruction during the winter months on board the monitors or other vessels stationed at the district port. In time of peace, no person should be allowed to become an officer of the naval reserve until he has performed a stated amount of work on board these district ships, or has served at least three years in a properly organized naval militia. Exception, however, should be made in favor of naval officers, and inducements should be held out to them to enter the naval reserve, thus relieving the present stagnation in the Service. The States within whose jurisdiction the ships are stationed should grant the naval officers detailed to the district ships an extra allowance of pay, provided they entered the State naval militia, and served as officers or instructors.

It will be readily seen, that this plan—of permanently stationing the "mother ship" with accompanying torpedo-boats in certain specific districts—will accomplish important results at a minimum cost. These ships will form a centre from which naval and marine influence will emanate; they will be popular because their constant presence will insure a certain sense of protection to the district; they will require very small crews while "in ordinary"; and the States will be saved the money necessary to build armories for drill purposes. The new battleships can thus be kept at points where most needed, with all stores and equipment ready for instant action, and the large crews now necessary can be freed, during time of peace, for duty elsewhere. The national naval reserve, as proposed, will gradually grow with the least friction; for, by association with the naval militia during winter, the men will

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

become more and more imbued with the local feeling, and, leaving the ships for their summer foreign cruises in commercial vessels, will acquire powers of observation from their winter's work, and return with information regarding foreign fleets and harbors which the merchant marine of to-day never obtains.

Such a system of district ships, with a small number of regular officers and men on board, with the State troops drilling, and the national naval reserve exercising and receiving instruction, would be in accord with the general spirit of the country, which always seeks a local beginning before resulting in a national development. From such a combination it would not take long to create two excellent corps, one *exclusively* for the immediate defence of the districts, the other, a body from which the regular navy could augment its complement in time of war. Upon the General Staff at Washington should be certain members especially charged to perfect this plan, on a basis which will be serviceable to the navy, and at the same time attractive to the merchant sailor.

Having outlined the nature of the first line of defence, namely, the navy increased by a national naval reserve, and that of the second line, which should be an enlarged naval militia, *acting within its own district*, we come next in order to the question of fortifications and harbor protection. It would seem superfluous at this late date to draw attention to the vulnerable condition of our great ports; every rank, from general to lieutenant, has reiterated again and again the need of adequate protection. Fortification boards have reported, and Congressional committees have visited each defenceless locality; the sum and substance of all inquiries being, that we are powerless to resist the first onslaught from even a second-class navy. Suffice it to say to those who are clamoring for war, that $125,000,000 must be invested in the building of forts and their equipment with modern ordnance. If this seem large, let it be remembered that it is no greater than the annual pension appropriation. Certainly, safeguards for the future are as much a patriotic necessity as gratitude for military services of the past.

As in the case of battle-ships, the element of time here faces us, and we must prepare some crude means for warding off any sudden blow which may be struck before the completion of the new forts. Again the question, "What can we do?" And once more, the answer is, "Fall back upon the mechanical ingenuity of our people and create at least a flimsy covering for our military nakedness." In default of the immediate formation of the General Staff, an enlargement of the duties

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the war college and "offices of intelligence" would result in collecting much diverse information concerning the commercial plant fitted for building earthworks, blockading channels, placing submarine mines, and for numerous other purposes. Each State should also establish an "office of intelligence," and the Governors should replace the ornamental civilian members on their staffs with officers who are competent to collect and tabulate military and naval data.

The old smooth-bore guns of large calibre, mounted in earthworks hastily constructed by railway and marine dredges, could be made to supplement what little aid the monitors can render, and to give some moral backing to a forlorn hope acting on board the improvised torpedo-boats. If, as now seems assured, the submarine torpedo-boat can be made a practical success, it will be a most powerful factor for harbor protection, and may, like the original "Monitor," revolutionize defensive warfare. It is also possible that certain of our commercial craft could be transformed into rams. Thanks to the army, a system of submarine mines has been prepared, the plans covering most of the approaches and channels along the coast. These mines consist of buoyant steel cases to be loaded with a large amount of high explosives: connected with the shore by an electric cable, they can be discharged at will. But the highest military authorities doubt if they can be always relied upon,—especially in harbors subject to tidal changes and currents,—while under the usual chances of war they can be successfully attacked by countermines. They are useless in thick weather, and, like the sinking of obstructions, prevent the defending fleet from the free use of the channels.

Dirigible torpedoes can be used with safety to person, but are likely to miss a quick-moving object. We already have on hand certain of these controllable movable torpedoes, but they have never been tested in actual warfare. Therefore, within a harbor, as well as in the offing, we must as a final resort fall back upon aggressive torpedo-boats, manned by resolute crews. Such a "mosquito" fleet cannot give its most effective sting, however, until the enemy has been severely crippled by a force which has been thoroughly instructed in the handling of artillery, and which is also familiar with all the resources of the locality and thoroughly educated in its military topography.

This brings us back to the question of the troops for coast defence. The regular artillery to-day is about 3,000, while 85,000 men are required to man our forts. The mere statement of this disparity between the actual and necessary numbers would seem to make the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

solution of the problem impossible; for the United States will never authorize a standing army in which the artillery shall play such an important part; and yet, situated as we are, the pressing need is for trained men who can handle heavy guns, and who have a thorough knowledge of the littoral. In other words, the necessity of a sea-coast army and navy reserve would seem even more urgent than the enlargement of the infantry; although no steps have been taken, prior to the last five years, to organize a force which shall be instructed in the knowledge of local fortification and coastwise defence. The naval militia was formed upon this theory, and a recent article[1] by Colonel Sanger shows how the idea can be applied to the manning of our forts. His general plan is somewhat on the lines of Mr. Cummings's bill for organizing a national naval reserve. State forces are to be enlisted to serve in the district forts in the same manner as the naval militia on board the district ships, and provision is made for the development of three corps, namely, the army, a reserve artillery, and the national guard,—which bodies will correspond with the navy, the naval reserve, and the naval militia. The different land volunteers, beginning service as State bodies, will gradually increase in knowledge, through grades and ranks, toward an army standard.

When it is remembered that none of the States has at present a heavy artillery regiment, the urgent necessity of action is apparent, while the difficulties arising from conflicting legislation must be overcome. These difficulties, however, are more imaginary than real, as was shown when the navy placed a thoroughly competent officer in charge of the naval militia, with the result that that thrifty young force is to-day organized in thirteen States under excellent and practically similar laws.

The responsibility of presenting a detailed plan for a new artillery and naval reserve rests with the regular Services. The immediate results may be disappointing, but there will be many enlistments if a wise Commission or General Staff could start the movement with a full appreciation of the patriotic ardor which exists, and with a knowledge of the commercial restraints which prevent young men, engaged in active civil pursuits, from giving too much time to the clerical and secondary work necessary in the regular army or navy.

J. W. Miller.

[1] See "United States Artillery Journal" for January.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GLIMMERINGS OF A FUTURE LIFE.

In an article published in The Forum for April, 1890, I stated that there was a continually accumulating mass of evidence that indirectly lent support to the belief that the human individual survives the death of his ordinary organism; and I referred, *inter alia*, to some experiences of my own with Mrs. Piper, a "medium" whose name is now widely known in both hemispheres. Since that time further investigations have been carried on in connection with Mrs. Piper's trance phenomena, and the chief object of this paper is to give a brief account of some of the fresh evidence in its relation to the question of man's survival of death. In the first place, however, it seems desirable that I should endeavor to bring my reader to a point of view from which he is willing to consider the possibility that there may be evidence of this survival.

There are so many ways of looking at the world. It may be a speck in space, or a huge cauldron with a graveyard for its crust, a place in which to get a hunger and satisfy it, the fighting ground for a while of dragon or ape, of Trojan or Turk, an evolutionary drama that must end in ice or fire. Many things it means to different men. One is busy with earthworms, another with stars, another with the splendor of the day or the strivings of the human soul. Numerous investigators are hunting for further proofs that we came out of the mud, but very few are seeking indications, in any scientific spirit, of what may follow the toil and turmoil of our individual existence here. In the meantime the brightness of the old theologies is becoming dimmed, the silence of most scientific men on the question of a future life is ominous, and the mass of those cultured people who are imbued with the developments of modern biological research, negative though they be, are content to pass the problem by on the other side. They have made up their minds that any such thing as "communication from the dead" is a foolish imagination not to be entertained by sensible people.

Yet it is easy to suppose circumstances which would produce the conviction in all rational human beings that there is a "future life," between which and ours there is intercommunication. Let us take

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a type, a form of "apparition" that is visible and vocally audible, but not tangible, that cannot produce changes in ordinary physical objects, that cannot be photographed,—whose audibility and visibility, whether telepathic or not, are at least not dependent on our present normal senses. Let us now suppose that immediately after death such an apparition of the deceased was invariably seen and heard, that it affirmed itself to be the deceased, that it exhibited such knowledge as the deceased possessed while inhabiting the ordinary organism, and so on, that it affirmed itself to be still "living" under very different conditions, most of which were alleged to be inexplicable to us in terms of our present environment. Let us suppose that arrangements for meetings could be made with the apparition,—that the apparition, except perhaps for its occasional disappearance for hours or days, explained by the necessity of fulfilling certain duties in its new sphere, behaved in general, as regards recognition by living persons and its rational and social relations with them, much as an ordinary living person does, the main exception being that he is not embodied like us. Were the case like this, I make no doubt whatever that the human race would be possessed by a belief in the survival of death, which would be regarded as barely less certain than the belief in their present embodied existence.

It is obvious, now, that in various ways we might narrow, step by step, in our supposition, the possibilities of manifestation of these apparitions. For example, the bars might be set for certain groups of would-be travellers from that other bourne, or the limitations of faculty might be enforced for those on the hither side. Thus we might suppose, to take one large step at once, that the apparitions of men between twenty and thirty years of age were the only ones ever seen, but that they appeared with a freedom like that suggested above, that they assured us of the continued existence of the other deceased who were unable to visit us, but who sent us concordant messages. Or we might suppose that the years of childhood alone were blessed with the gift of vision, that after a few full years the "shades of the prison-house" closed upon us, leaving us the divine remembrances of our own seership, but compelling us thereafter to gaze and listen through the children who yet do keep their heritage. Were the case thus,—the direct experience once enjoyed by ourselves, the clear perception verifiable everywhere by the consensus of experiences of children,—the belief in survival would no more be practically questioned than belief in the death of the body.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To restrict the annunciative message still further we might suppose that each departed one could make but three short visits to us at specified times, after death, instead of more or less continually abiding with us,—or we might suppose that to the members of one race only, say the Hebrews, was given the clairvoyant and clairaudient faculty, that upon this race depended therefore all the possibility of communication of the "dead," and all our knowledge of the world beyond. Even on such suppositions as these, the belief in the future life would doubtless be universal. But we might go on diminishing the evidence gradually, limiting the frequency of the apparitions, and lessening the number of the witnesses, taking away the visibility, the audibility, of the returning ones, confining their manifestations to rare instances of mediumistic trance utterance or automatic writing, etc., until, by one person after another unto the last of all, the testimony should be deemed inadequate for more than a passing thought. Between the two extremes, where on the one hand the testimony is regarded as absolutely worthless, and on the other hand as compelling a belief that is universal and practically irresistible, there are various degrees of evidence conceivable to which *some* weight must be attributed.

Such considerations as these, one would think, are tolerably obvious; but many apparently fail to realize their validity, and I have therefore put them in the above form for the purpose of making very explicit this fact, namely, that as regards the question of "spirit-communication," as in most other questions, we must not suppose that the evidence necessarily falls into one of two classes: (1) where it counts for everything, (2) where it counts for nothing. The evidence may be worth *something*,—not so small as to produce no effect, not so great as to produce universal conviction.

Now a considerable body of valuable evidence, I venture to think, has been published by the Society for Psychical Research, the result of which is very strongly to suggest that human personality is much wider and profounder than has been commonly supposed, and has relations beyond our ordinary *terrene* existence. I refer not only to the simpler phenomena of telepathy and clairvoyance, but also to the experimental and statistical work concerning the phantasms of the living and of the dead, and the luminous articles by Mr. F. W. H. Myers upon the subliminal consciousness. It is not my purpose to appraise the results of our enquiry in general; suffice it to say that I agree emphatically with Mr. Myers that—

—"the time for *a priori* chains of argument, for the subjective pronouncements

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of leading minds, for amateurish talk and pious opinion, has passed away; the question of the survival of man is a branch of experimental psychology. Is there, or is there not, evidence in the actual observed phenomena of automatism, apparitions, and the like, for a transcendental energy in living men, or for an influence emanating from personalities which have overpassed the tomb? This is the definite question, which we can at least intelligibly discuss, and which either we or our descendants may some day hope to answer."

From this brief preamble let us now pass at once to the main subject of this paper. Two reports on the trance phenomena of Mrs. Piper have been published in the "Proceedings" of the Society for Psychical Research, and to these I refer the reader for information concerning the experiments made with her prior to the year 1892. All that I need repeat here is that Mrs. Piper passes into a trance during which apparently another personality than the normal waking Mrs. Piper "controls" her body, uses her organs of speech, and shows a knowledge of facts which Mrs. Piper could not have obtained by ordinary means. This other personality purports to be the "spirit" of a disembodied human being, and goes under the name of "Doctor Phinuit." This Phinuit claims to derive most of his knowledge from the "spirit-friends" of the persons who have "sittings" with Mrs. Piper. On some occasions Mrs. Piper's voice is apparently controlled not by Phinuit, but by some "spirit-friend" of the sitter, and the communications made then are usually much more personal and striking than when given through the intervention of Phinuit. It is difficult to describe these phenomena precisely without going into much fuller detail than my space allows, or using language which implies appreciation of the "spiritistic" hypothesis. Mrs. Piper's sittings in America have been to a large extent during the past eight years under the supervision of Prof. James and myself, and Mrs. Piper also gave a series of eighty-three sittings in England in the winter of 1889–90, under the supervision of several prominent members of our Society there. Since the publication of the previous reports on Mrs. Piper, which dealt with her sittings in England and those in America up to the close of 1891, a marked improvement has taken place in the quality of the communications and some new light has been thrown upon their significance. This improvement appears to be due partly at least to the sudden death early in 1892, of a young man who may be called George Robinson, who purported to make himself known about four weeks later through Mrs. Piper's trance, and who has since that time furnished much information for the purpose of establishing his identity, and who has claimed also to be present very frequently for the purpose

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of assisting other alleged "communicators." Another circumstance which has contributed toward the improvement manifest in Mrs. Piper's sittings is the development of automatic writing during her trance. Mrs. Piper's right hand is taken possession of, so to speak, by some other "control," purporting to be a deceased friend of the sitter, while Phinuit "controls" the voice. On two occasions both hands wrote contemporaneously and independently of each other, purporting to represent different deceased persons, while Phinuit was using the voice.

That the first hypothesis for consideration in our earlier investigations was that of imposture on the part of Mrs. Piper, will not surprise any one who is aware of the fraud practised by nearly all public "mediums." This hypothesis has been discussed elsewhere,[1] and I mention it here only to discuss it as entirely inapplicable to the case of Mrs. Piper. That she passes into a genuine trance in which the dominant personality is not the normal waking Mrs. Piper, and in which proof of supernormal knowledge is given, I regard as fully established. The hypothesis which seemed to me for some years the most satisfactory was that of an auto-hypnotic trance in which a secondary personality of Mrs. Piper either erroneously believed itself to be or consciously and falsely pretended to be the "spirit" of a deceased human being, and fictitiously represented various other personalities according to the latent ideas of some of the sitters. Some extension of this hypothesis I still regard as theoretically applicable, but not as practically satisfactory; and this change in my opinion is due chiefly to the series of manifestations purporting to come from the above-mentioned George Robinson. This gentleman was known to me personally, but the bond between us was of an intellectual sort, and not that of an old, intimate, and emotional friendship. He had an absolute disbelief in any future life, and some two years before his death, as the result of a discussion between us, he declared very emphatically that if he should die before I did, and found himself "still existing," he would do his utmost to prove the fact of that continued existence. About four weeks after his death, which occurred in New York, an intimate friend of his whom I shall call John Smith, had a sitting with Mrs. Piper. At this sitting, after a few statements had been made concerning John Smith himself, and relatives of his connected with articles which he presented as tests, Phinuit spoke of George Robinson as anxious to

[1] See "Proceedings" of the Society for Psychical Research, Parts XVII and XXI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

communicate. During the sitting George Robinson's real name was given in full, also the names, both Christian and surname, of several of his most intimate friends, including the name of the sitter. Phinuit acted as intermediary, so to speak, repeating as nearly as possible the statements which he said were being made by George Robinson. Unfortunately, but necessarily, the most important evidence tending to show that George Robinson was in some way "communicating" cannot be published. It concerns the confidential remembrances of friends, dealing not only with personal matters pertaining to George Robinson alone, but with incidents of a private nature relating to other persons living; and in describing such as I am at liberty to mention I shall use fictitious names. Articles which had belonged to G. R. and which J. S. had taken to the sitting were at once recognized and circumstances relating to them were correctly specified. Thus, concerning a pair of studs that J. S. was wearing, the statement was made that G. R.'s mother had taken them and given them to his father, who had given them to J. S. At the time of the sitting J. S. knew that they had been taken from G. R.'s body, but not that G. R.'s mother (stepmother) had taken them from the body, or that it was she who suggested to Mr. R. to send them to J. S., who had written to Mr. R. to ask for some little memento of his friend.

Meredith, an intimate friend of J. S. and G. R., was mentioned. "Lent a book to Meredith. Tell him to keep it for me. Go to my room where my desk is." In reply to enquiries Meredith stated that the last time he saw Robinson was in Robinson's own room several months before the latter's death. They had spent the greater part of the day together, and Robinson had pressed Meredith to take away some of his manuscripts and books. As Meredith was about to leave the city he was reluctant to do so, but was (April, 1892) under the impression that he did take some manuscript or book away. He could not, however, remember either what it was or what he did with it. Among other persons mentioned by G. R., with strongly personal specific references, were James and Mary Howard, and in connection with Mrs. Howard came the name Katherine. "Tell her, she 'll know. I will solve the problems, Katherine." This had no significance for J. S. at the time, though he was aware that Katherine, a daughter of Howard, was known to Robinson. On the day following the sitting J. S. gave Howard a detailed account of it, and Howard then narrated that Robinson, when he had last stayed with them, had talked frequently with Katherine (a girl of fifteen years of age) upon such subjects as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Time," "Space," "God," "Eternity," and pointed out to her how unsatisfactory the commonly accepted solutions were. He added that some time he would solve the problems and let her know, using almost the very words of the communication made at the sitting. J. S. said that he was entirely unaware of these circumstances. I was myself of course unaware of them, and in fact nearly every statement made at the sitting, during which I was the note-taker, concerned matters of which I was absolutely ignorant. As I have already said, the most personal references made at the sitting cannot be quoted; they were regarded by J. S. as profoundly characteristic of Robinson,[1] and in minor matters, such as in the words of greeting to the sitter, the manner of reference to his mother being with him "spiritually," and his father and (step) mother living, etc., the sitter was strongly impressed with the *vraisemblance* of the personality of Robinson.

It so happened that appointments had been made for other sitters, and it was nearly three weeks before a special opportunity was given for further communication from G. R., at a sitting when Mr. and Mrs. James Howard were present. In the interim I accompanied several sitters as note-taker, and at each of these Phinuit represented G. R. as anxious to see his friends. Only one of these sitters had been known to George Robinson, and he was recognized (it was his first sitting with Mrs. Piper), and G. R. sent a message to the sitter's son. On being asked where G. R. had known his son the correct reply came that they had been students together at college. The sitter then asked for a description of his summer home which G. R. had once visited. This also was correctly given.

At the Howards' first sitting Phinuit spoke only a few words, and gave way almost immediately for what purported to be G. R., using the voice. The statements made were intimately personal and characteristic. Mutual friends were referred to by name, enquiries were made about private matters, and in short, the Howards, who were not predisposed to take any interest in psychical research and who had been induced by the account of J. S. to make a trial, were profoundly impressed with the feeling that they were in truth holding a conver-

[1] I may say here in answer to a question that has perhaps already arisen in the reader's mind, that George Robinson in March, 1888, about four years before his death, had a sitting with Mrs. Piper under an assumed name, and that in the latter part of 1887 John Smith called upon Mrs. Piper with me on the chance of finding her disengaged, but she was about to sit for a lady, and we left immediately. His real name was not of course mentioned. The next visit of J. S. to Mrs. Piper was on the occasion described above.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sation with the personality of the friend whom they had known so many years. Space fails to give the details of numerous later incidents, and I shall make but a very brief reference to one or two.

For example, G. R. was very anxious to speak to his father about some private business, and to aid in convincing his father, who lived in a distant city, he stated that he had been recently present in "spirit form" with his father when the latter had accidentally broken the negative of his (G. R.'s) photograph. This was unknown to the Howards and they wrote for verification. It proved to be true, and Mr. R. had not even mentioned the accident to his wife. At a later date, the middle of May, Mrs. Piper was giving some sittings in New York, and Mr. and Mrs. R. travelled thither, and had a sitting, of course under assumed names. They were at once recognized, also articles which they had taken belonging to G. R., who was particularly anxious to give as much information as possible in the way of tests. It was arranged that his father should do something that afternoon—the sitting was in the morning—having relation to G. R., and that G. R. should state at the next sitting what was done. At the next sitting, the second day afterward, Mr. and Mrs. R. *not* being present, three acts were described as having been performed by his father and mother. It turned out that two of these had been done as described, nor were there any other test incidents,—but the third, the writing of a certain explanatory letter, had not been actually carried out. Mr. R. had intended writing such a letter and consulted his wife about the proposed contents, but had not found time to write it. On several other occasions I have found a similar mistake in communications, suggesting that this apparently supernormal knowledge of our world is obtained indirectly and telepathically through the minds of living persons, rather than by a direct visual perception such as we enjoy.

Mrs. Piper has given sittings to some scores of different persons since these early sittings at which G. R. first communicated, and, so far as I am aware, not one who was known to the living G. R. has failed to be recognized by the communicating G. R., who has given the sitter's name and made statements showing a proper appreciation of the relations that existed between them prior to G. R.'s death. Nor, on the other hand, has any one been claimed as a friend who was not known to the living G. R. Frequently G. R., nearly all of whose communications are *written*, acts as amanuensis, so to speak, for some other deceased friend who is apparently unable to use Mrs. Piper's hand easily, much as an expert typewriter might take the place of a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beginner; and the promise which G. R. made to me when living, that he would do all he could to establish the fact of another life, if there were one, has been often referred to, especially in connection with this assistance rendered to other alleged communicators—most of them strangers to G. R.

Now, of the different *prima facie* suppositions that might be applied in explanation of the phenomena of which I have tried to give the reader some idea by the cases cited, there are two that appear most plausible. One is telepathy from the living, the other would include also telepathy from the dead. I have myself been driven to the latter, a form of the "spiritistic" hypothesis. This paper is written for the purpose not of proving, but of illustrating, and a full report of my investigations will shortly appear in the "Proceedings" of the Society for Psychical Research, where detailed accounts will be given of statements made by other communicators as well as G. R. In none of these other cases, however, is the evidence so abundant or so complete as in the case of G. R., and, so far as my knowledge extends, the evidence of this continued personal existence manifested through Mrs. Piper's trance is much stronger, taken altogether, than any other case that has ever been recorded in history.

I shall add merely a few words concerning the obstacles which are in the way of the alleged communicators themselves.

There are of course many obscurities and irrelevancies in the communications purporting to come from the deceased friends of sitters, and it is these which make any satisfactory interpretation of them difficult. George Robinson attributes his special success as a communicator to a combination of several favoring conditions,—his sudden death while in the fulness of his intellectual vigor, the opportunity afforded him of communicating shortly after his death, and the continuance of that opportunity, the fact that his strongest attachments were to persons still living, his familiarity with mental operations, and his habit of introspection. It is claimed that among the difficulties which prevent clear communications are the following: (1) the ill-health of Mrs. Piper herself on various occasions—there is then less of whatever peculiar kind of energy (spoken of as "light") is available for the act of communication, and the result is more or less dreamy in character; (2) confusion still inherent in the mind of the communicator, who is described as frequently remaining in a comatose state for some time after death; (3) confusion produced by the very act of communicating, which is said to have a tendency to cause a loss of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consciousness as by taking a drug; (4) communication is chiefly telepathic, and there is a tendency for every thought that passes through the communicator's mind to be expressed, and not only those which he wishes to express.

Attention has been given for the most part hitherto to questions of personal identity and the conditions of "communicating." These are the primarily important questions, and the answers obtained are more or less verifiable. Statements have also been made concerning the other world which are hardly verifiable by us at present, and which perhaps raise more doubts and enquiries than they are intended to solve. Such, for example, as that the deceased have ethereal organisms, which once inhabited their ordinary flesh-and-blood organisms, and that there is a definitely located portion of space within the solar system which forms their ethereal abode. There are many difficulties demanding solution before these and other statements concerning experiences after death can be regarded as a certain revelation. Psychical science is yet in its infancy, as other sciences were centuries ago. Once the earth was the centre of the universe, and even Socrates could deem it impious to desire after the knowledge of those heavenly bodies whose goings-on were the secrets of the gods. It is not now such a fool's errand to seek some lines of intelligence that may gleam from the surface of another planet. Now there are nautical almanacs, and other suns. We can prove now the substance of stars invisible to us and chart their flamings and their kinships. So too we may learn that the consciousness of man is not restricted to the domain of this ordinary earthly life, our knowledge may widen as with starry systems, and it may prove no hopeless task hereafter to find some "bolometer" that "still despite the distance and the dark" shall measure the energies of departed but persistent human souls.

RICHARD HODGSON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED